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Architecture, Power and Ritual in Scottish Town Halls, 1833-1973

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bath

Department of Architecture and Civil Engineering

June 2016

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Signed on behalf of the Department of Architecture and Civil Engineering

Table of Contents

	Page Number
Acknowledgements	1
Abstract	2
Chapter 1: Introduction and Survey	3
Chapter 2: The Town Hall as a Civic Space: Changes in Access and Administration	54
Chapter 3: Building Expressions of Power	107
Chapter 4: The Use of History In Creating the Image of Local Government	139
Chapter 5: The Town Hall and Civic Ritual: Performance and Place	183
Chapter 6: Conclusions	236
Appendix: Scottish Town Halls, 1833-1973	244
Bibliography	

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Abstract

Town halls are the key expression of civic consciousness in the urban environment. They were constructed at a period of change for local government, when there was an urgent need for transition to an altered method of control. They enable a degree of civic access and ritual, and encapsulate important messages of local culture and heritage, in an effort to appropriate them to boost the legitimacy of the political process. The change expressed by their building can be read as a microcosm of the town; and from the town, the city and country: the majority of concerns and triumphs expressed at local level echoed those being voiced nationally, tracking flux in the narrative of social and political history.

This research shows that the town hall provides the resolution of local authority change: it is a static statement of a great political transformation, easing the passage of a local authority's development from a point of weakness and uncertainty to a position of strength. For this transition to be managed effectively, the ability of the town hall to express power is vital. This power is expressed through a broad range of source materials, including local and national sources of culture and history, and latterly, international inspiration as well.

The function of the town hall's architecture as a civic space designed for social ritual changed dramatically during the period studied, from making public involvement the design's key driver in nineteenth century designs, to their relegation to external gathering spaces in the twentieth century. The social history of a locality was a frequent tool in the legitimisation of town halls – an effect heightened by the numerous strategies employed by their municipal designers to inculcate the suggestion of power within their construction. These could include the inclusion of redundant but impressive features, widespread demolition or the use of a culturally-significant location.

This thesis describes how the narratives of power, ritual and civic access, drawn out during the construction of town halls, mirror those of contemporary society. It addresses the question of the role of town halls for urban society, and how they serve as monuments to distinct periods in the development of urban civilisation.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Survey

Contents

1	Introduction	4
2	Existing Research	6
3	Scope	12
4	Historic Context.....	14
4.1	Local Government	14
4.2	Scottish and the Centre: Political Context	17
4.3	The Scottishness of Scottish Town Halls	19
4.4	Social Change	22
5	Survey	25
5.1	Methodology	26
5.2	Statistical Analysis.....	27
6	Key Buildings	39
7	Themes	47

1 Introduction

The town hall encapsulates the gradual change in the location of governmental power over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, from highly localised urban centres to central government. Such buildings represent the extent of civic power in a town, acting as a manifestation of a much greater power aspired to by the Council in creating a building of great size and multiple redundancies of form, and reflecting the contestation of this power by the local citizens, who are subject to the decisions made therein. They enable a degree of civic access and ritual - subject to varying levels of enclosure - and encapsulate key messages of local culture and heritage in an effort to appropriate them to boost the legitimacy of the political process.

Town halls in Scotland have not been the subject of thematic study to date, creating a gap in our understanding of the purpose and function of this key civic institution. This research aims to answer the question of their changing role in the urban environment, and in doing so, stimulate an understanding of their importance in embodying the rise and fall of the power of local government over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The following research examines in detail how the fluctuation in power is determined by the functioning of the town hall in a series of key respects:

- Its operation as a civic space, in defining access to local politics, and upon occasion, societal events;
- Its facilitation of the change in focus of local government, from urban politics to the administration of central government strategies;
- As an expression of power over the urban citizen, and often, the region;
- The provision of a channel for the interpretation of history towards the creation of a local civic narrative; or alternatively abandoning local history entirely, to promote a forward-focussed form of civic narrative; and
- The performance of dynamic rituals centered on the town hall, involving the appropriation of the legitimacy of other buildings, forms and spaces, with the goal of redefining the physicality of the civic in urban space.

These themes are examined in depth through six case studies of town halls in Scotland, drawn from the period of 1833-1973. The one hundred and forty years to 1973 saw immense change in the laws governing the nature of relations

between central and local government. Between 1833 and 1973, governing locally was first trumpeted, then overruled and finally subsumed by central government amidst a shifting political, social and economic landscape that is captured through the construction of the town hall.

Where town councils once shaped and defined the character of urban areas through intensely responsive local management, they are now little more than executors of central government strategy. This has led to the urban resident's relationship with local government becoming one of disillusionment and detachment. As the town council developed into a less localised, more externally-responsive body, so the area it served became less of a coherent community, as its identity was diluted by the concerns of the centre.

These transitions are mapped by the changing methods and styles of town halls. Such buildings, built at key moments of political and social change, uniquely describe the position of the local authority relative to the people it served, and those it obeyed. The fluctuations in the nature of the town council's power relationships are evident through the building process: how and by whom it was built, how it was funded, the urban reaction to it and its design. These elements work together to create a body of evidence that reflects changes over almost a century and a half of Scotland's local history with great clarity.

Scotland was chosen as the area of study because of the important role played by it in the nineteenth century industrial revolution, when it experienced a period of intense urban development, leading to the creation of a large number of new towns, and with them, buildings of local government. In the twentieth century, it was the subject of a range of new planning initiatives that created opportunities for the construction of town halls as a result of new urban development theories. This provides a large pool of buildings of the type from across the period under study for examination. Scotland's relatively small geographical area is also of benefit, in providing a concentrated area of development within which regional and national trends can be identified, as demonstrated in the survey section below.

This research, although within the realm of architectural history, takes a social historian's perspective on the material available. The topic has not been approached from a purely stylistic perspective, as this would skew the reading of the social intent of the building: town halls were planned as the embodiment of the ideal of civic public space.

An emphasis has been placed on examining first-hand accounts of the building process, from those directly involved in its construction, to those paying for it through rates. These are discussed in the context of an examination of the design from the original plans, the response to it from design professionals, and research site visits. This provides a broad range of information on which to base a comprehensive analysis of the town halls involved, and the themes of investigation they invite.

Although this research focusses on this issue in Scotland alone, the loss of power and identity from the local to the national and the corresponding sense of alienation felt by the urban resident is not a solely Scottish problem. Such changes are evident throughout the United Kingdom and across the world, as central governments seek to standardise the delivery of key services throughout their territories. What is lost in the process is local civic pride and the uniqueness of urban identities and cultures, so carefully fostered by those first responsible for the creation of towns. This research raises questions about the importance the twenty-first century will place on the idea of locally-based power, and how willing we are to sacrifice our geographical and cultural uniqueness to the power-grabs of central governments.

2 Existing Research

Town halls have not been the focus of a significant quantity of research. Outside of a small number of key texts, discussion of them has been concentrated around their role as part of the growth of the industrial city in the second half of the nineteenth century, and their subsequent reimagining as civic centres in the post-war era. Within such discussions, they tend to form part of an overall consideration of a period in urban history, or an appreciation of modernist architecture.¹

Writing specifically on town halls commonly takes one of four routes. The first is that of the gazetteer, which provides summary information on a large number of buildings without detailed analysis beyond its physical form. The second involves examining town halls from the viewpoint of the professional: using the architectural style of the building, or its planning context, to create the narrative. The third is to look at the built evidence as a means of identifying how social or political change within urban society is described in built form. Finally, some authors examine town halls through their use, to understand how civic culture is informed through the experience of the space. The key texts from each approach are discussed in detail below.

Tollbooths and town houses : Civic Architecture in Scotland to 1833 is a gazetteer produced by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.² It provides detailed information on the earliest known tollbooths and town houses, including archaeological reconstructions and other architectural drawings. It is prefaced by a useful survey chapter that outlines the common features of these early town halls, as well as providing a small amount of contextual information on the extent of local government in Scotland in the period immediately preceding the one under examination in this thesis.

In a similar vein, *London's Town Halls: the architecture of local government from 1840 to the present* offers a gazetteer of town halls constructed within London.³ The gazetteer provides a wealth of information on town halls in London, categorized to provide basic biographical data on each building. It is useful as a means of identifying where trends in town hall building differ between Scotland and London.

The view of the architectural professionals is given in the primary interpretative source for the Victorian and Edwardian period: Colin Cunningham's *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls*.⁴ Essentially a chronological review of the most significant town halls of the United Kingdom from the 1830s until 1914, Cunningham focuses on the changing architectural styles of such buildings, and through his method, interprets the development of the form and function over the period. He also deals with the means of their conception, examining elements such as private and municipal patronage, public competitions, direct appointments, and in particular, the interactions between industrialists and landed gentry in relation to the construction of town halls. As a by-product of these topics, he touches on the importance of town halls as symbols of civic pride, local character, community consciousness, and urban development, but does not deal with these topics at length or in depth.

Cunningham's text provides the historical account which almost all other researchers refer to. His book is rich in primary research and successfully establishes the architectural context for the construction of town halls from the mid nineteenth century up to the beginning of World War I. The focused nature of his research approach allows for a deep understanding of town halls in this central aspect.

In *Edwardian civic buildings and their details*⁵, Richard Fellows highlights how elements such as towers and pedimented entrance fronts are used to transform town halls into landmarks, as a symbol for buildings of significance. He also

deals in depth with the issue of how access to town halls is permitted to different sectors of society in different ways, and where issues of propriety occur. This is a particular theme with Victorian town halls, but one that continues through the entire period under investigation within this thesis. He examines this by investigating the built evidence, primarily from the point of view of the architect, without dealing too closely with the context of each building: as the title suggests, he is more interested in the architectural detail than the social conditions of construction.

Peter J. Larkham's article on the development of the trend for civic centres in the post-war reconstruction period in England charts the impact of their massive scale on the fine grain of urban townscapes, as part of larger urban reconstruction schemes planned by local authorities across the United Kingdom. He discusses how such schemes were viewed by those within the design profession, but does not deal in detail their reception within the towns where they were located.⁶

Although its focus is on buildings of national rather than local government, *The Architecture of Scottish Government : From Kingship to Parliamentary Democracy* includes a contextual overview of how movements in nineteenth and twentieth century politics impacted on the architecture of local government, with an emphasis on stylistic developments.⁷ Miles Glendinning refers to how local authority architecture reflects Scotland's positioning of itself within the United Kingdom and the Empire: this is a theme this thesis examines as part of the larger issue of local authority identity, and the changing relationships between central government and town councils.

The third way of examining a town hall - as a medium of change - is dealt with by several authors. As the title suggests, *Architecture and Power: The Town Hall and the English Urban Community c.1500 -1640* by Robert Tittler is primarily concerned with how town halls convey power structures and their interrelationships.⁸ His main argument is that town halls were not built because of a superfluity of building capital or even at a time of municipal prosperity, but rather out of an overarching desire to symbolize a given moment in the administration of urban politics. I have taken Tittler's notion further than reading the town hall as a signifier of just political change, and applied it more broadly to suggest that town halls also symbolise social, ritual and functional change.

As well as looking at the physical evidence, Tittler examines the financial accounts of construction as his primary sources of information: because of his

research period, other written accounts are limited in nature. This gives a fairly narrow and one-sided field of evidence, which is echoed by the limits of his research question. My research has been able to take advantage of print media as a major resource, thus allowing for a much broader investigation into the notion of change.

Judi Loach also uses the evidence of the Hôtel de Ville at Lyons as town hall as a primary source for exploring the town's political history.⁹ As well as examining the processes behind its construction, she explores how the changing programmes for murals inside the building reflect the altered political climate. She believes that this physical evidence-based approach draws out the contemporaneous experience of the people who were the primary and immediate audience for such buildings in a way not accessible through traditional written source material. I have used a physical evidence-based approach for supporting the analysis of various themes within my research, particularly those relating to the use of history in legitimising the construction of the town hall, and in the analysis of access and operation.

Similarly, *Meetinghouses, Town Houses, and Churches: Changing Perceptions of Sacred and Secular Space in Southern New England, 1720 -1850* looks at how transformation in the designs for meeting houses and the corresponding evolution of a separate design style for town houses in New England echoes changes in the religion and politics within the period 1700-early 1800s.¹⁰ The author Kevin Sweeney places emphasis on pictorial representations as an information source as well as contemporary and secondary written accounts and analysis, which broader evidence base gives greater credence to his analysis. He is cautious in his interpretation of image sources to limit his conclusions to what seems evident beyond the style of illustration, mindful of the distortions that can be accommodated unconsciously if the subjectivity of the artist is not allowed for.

The experience of space as a method of enquiry into town halls is the final means of examination of town halls carried out by other authors. In *The Social Meaning of Civic Space*, Charles T. Goodsell completes a thorough examination of the physical evidence to provide the rationale for his subjective response in a robust manner. He examines a series of Civic Chambers within town halls across the United States of America from the period 1865-1980. His central thesis is that the physicality of such spaces can be interpreted to provide information on commonalities in political life, power structures, and civic society at the time of

construction. He divides his research into three periods based on the styles of civic chambers he perceives: Traditional: from 1865-1920; Mid-century: from 1920-1960, and Contemporary: from 1960-1980. Each grouping allows for the expression of a particular form of attributes of the contemporary political system: Traditional, for example, delivers a design that "stresses the superiority of the governors over the governed", Mid-century provides for "notions of checked power and democratic accountability", while Contemporary "expresses values of community and integration".¹¹ His close examination of the dimensions, forms and decoration of civic chambers, as well as their furnished elements, provides a useful methodology for interpreting such elements within civic chambers and more generally within town halls. I have drawn heavily on his methodology in my own examination of civic chambers in Chapter 5.

Less successfully, in *City Halls and Civic Materialism*, a range of authors examine town halls across the world with the aim of discovering how civic culture and the idea of citizenship is mediated through the experience of the physical space of town halls; an idea developed by the contributor Mary Ryan.¹² This is an interesting way of looking at town halls globally, and has the potential to offer a new perspective in interpreting the experienced significance of town halls, as opposed to the more common value judgements made with reference to their style and their overarching context. However, the level of investigation into the actual experience of space seems to be relatively slight in most of the chapters, with the majority of authors relying on a chronological account of the construction of their subject building or buildings to provide the evidence. This may be because the experience of architecture is necessarily subjective and there is a level of uncertainty involved in moving away from an empirically-based means of investigation; however Goodsell, as discussed above, has shown that the experience of town hall space can be tied to a facts-based framework in a convincingly universal manner.

The second thesis put forward by *City Halls and Civic Materialism* is that town halls are a spatial type rather than a building type. This, the book argues, allows for town halls to be considered outside the intentions of architects and builders, which the building type analysis privileges. The building as a spatial type can also include its alterations to its meaning outwith the original conception and into its current usage. Viewing the town hall as a spatial type, it further hypothesises, also allows for global pressures and processes to be taken into account as part of the building analysis.

Again, few of the contributing authors pick up this idea in any depth, preferring to focus on the building history instead. To do justice to a town hall as a spatial type as defined by the editors would require as substantial a focus on the building's history as its current usage, which is beyond the scope of a book chapter and indeed of a thesis thematically based around a series of case studies of different town halls, as this is. It is possible to consider the building's intended usage through an investigation of its plan form and the associated documentation where this is discussed, such as Council records and newspaper articles, and this has yielded good results within the scope of this research. An investigation into a building's current usage has the potential to stray into sociological or anthropological research, which would not fit within the scope of this thesis.

Like Cunningham, Jon Stobart's article "Building an urban identity. Cultural space and civic boosterism in a 'new' industrial town: Burslem, 1761-1911" raises the issue of class. Stobart discusses it with reference to how the urban elites used the cultural capital of town halls as a means of control over the working classes. He positions the town hall at the centre of what he terms "civic culture": the process of constructing a series of civic buildings including libraries, galleries, museums and bath houses with the goal of establishing a town's identity and image through physical manifestations. He notes how civic architecture references the built legacy to legitimise itself; an idea that is further developed with specific reference to town halls in this research. He notes that town halls were essential in creating a sense of civic pride, both within the town and as a display for neighbouring towns, which he describes as "civic boosterism".¹³ He suggests that a town hall was just as important a symbol for local residents as for those visiting the town: its local and visitor-focussed symbolism is drawn from the one built source. This idea is developed further throughout this thesis, and particularly with reference to the expression of power, discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Each of the four approaches described above has informed this research, providing a different way of examining the evidence that brings forth new insights. My preference has been to pursue a more comprehensive approach than that taken by writers such as Cunningham, who have thoroughly covered the architect-led approach to town halls.

In terms of the theoretical structure underpinning this research, this has been drawn from a multitude of sources, from cultural theory to anthropology, with

each area expanded on where directly relevant in the following chapters. For ideas on power, I have relied on the theories of Michel Foucault in particular, as his ideas relating to contested power - where power is a force that is constantly in flux - have particular relevance for town halls, whose existence can be read as a confirmation of power change and the struggle for its acceptance.¹⁴ Charles Goodsell's work on civic space, discussed above, provides the best framework for interpreting how a town hall operates within the civic environment. His theory that "such spaces and the objects within it become what might be thought of as a nonverbal commentary about people, politics, culture and conciliation" has been central to the structure of this research as a narrative on the societal changes embodied by the town hall.¹⁵ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's work on the appropriation of heritage to substantiate claims of power and legitimacy, together with those of Michael Billig and Laurajane Smith, build a robust framework for examining the purpose of the elaborate decoration with which most town halls are adorned, as essentially another means of gaining power and control.¹⁶ Theories on ritual as a means of legitimising the transition of power have been drawn from Catherine Bell as a distillation of those of Émile Durkheim and others, but Gwen Kennedy-Neville's application of ritual theory in her book *The Sacred and the Civic: Representations of Death in the Town Ceremony of Border Scotland* has driven my interpretation of the detail of actual events.¹⁷

Through examining the building from a variety of theoretical perspectives as well as from a comprehensive review of primary and secondary sources, including the experience of the building itself and particularly those of the non-building professional, my belief is that town halls can be understood beyond what is immediately evident from appearances, as important manifestations of changes in urban society.

3 Scope

This thesis will look at the built and written evidence of town halls as a means of identifying how town halls define urban civic space and exhibit the changing power dynamics of local and central government. It is not based on an experiential approach, as the distance of time makes it impossible to experience town halls in the way that they were originally intended, and the individual experience of town halls cannot be objective or universal enough to be considered a reliable source of information.

As is discussed further in Section 5, style is not considered a suitable overarching theme for studying town halls, as this research has proven the inconsistency of its application for any other reason than fashion: the eclecticism of much of the period under study prevents meaningful conclusions that can be applied to the whole timespan. Instead, style is analysed on a case by case basis in relation to its architectural and urban context where it can add further depth to the discussion.

Neither is politics taken as a theme. This research has indicated that party politics do not impact on the building of town halls, as their construction was commonly the result of cross-party agreement, and for some buildings there are instances of individual dissenting voices across those in and out of power within the local Council. Town halls were not a tool in party politics, but, as the case studies will show, part of a much larger debate on the nature of government.

Six case studies have been selected to illustrate the chronology of change, and are discussed under the themes of civic space (Chapter 2) power (Chapter 3), the use of history (Chapter 4), and ritual (Chapter 5). The case study buildings have been chosen because they were constructed at times of great political, social or economic change, and as a result of the availability of sufficient research materials to allow for thorough analysis. Care was taken to ensure some geographical spread; however, given the concentrated nature of urban development in Scotland, the case study buildings are of necessity grouped within the Central Belt; the area around and between Glasgow on the west coast and Edinburgh on the east coast.

In Scotland, a town hall can also be described as a tollbooth, a town house, a city or burgh chambers, county buildings or as a civic centre. To avoid confusion, this thesis uses the term 'town hall' to represent any of these buildings, on the basis that it performs the political administration of a local or regional area. The scale of the geographic area or population served by the local or regional authority does not impact on the nature of the town hall: although the size of the building changes with the extent of administration, the fundamental spatial and ideological characteristics of the town hall do not, as will be demonstrated from the following research. This approach has also been carried through to the survey section below.

4 Historic Context

4.1 Local Government

The development and decline of municipal power as exhibited by town halls is an important factor in understanding the relationship of local government to the centre, and to the urban resident, as is discussed in Chapter 3.

Town councils in the modern sense of a public body accountable to and elected by a small community within a defined boundary are a product of the Scottish Municipal Reform Act of 1833. This Act, and its 1835 counterpart in England, are considered as the first step towards municipal government as it is understood today, although it did not reform the existing system of local authorities, so much as change their government.¹⁸ It was under these auspices that early town halls such as those at Burntisland and Irvine – discussed below in Section 6 - were completed. The extension of services undertaken by local government during the eighteenth century was a product of ad hoc Acts of Parliament, originating both from national undertakings and locally-sponsored Bills by individual towns. For much of the nineteenth century, the services now provided by local government were carried out by a wide array of special interest boards and commissions.¹⁹ Instead, town councils focussed on environmental improvement schemes. Such projects, particularly those that required an Act of Parliament, were a means of defining the aspirations of a town or city upon the British stage, and of proclaiming the progressive and thrusting nature of their leadership across national newspapers and thus to would-be investors.²⁰ The breadth of such ambitions encouraged a strong sense of pride in citizens in their towns and cities, especially when those involved in town councils during the period were leaders in industry and commerce, as was the case for the construction of Renfrew Town Hall. The town hall was the ultimate expression of the power of the local town council: little wonder that such buildings up to the 1880s were most commonly bombastic expressions of confidence and civic pride.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, there followed a period of rationalisation and centralisation of local government in Scotland. In 1885, the Scottish Office was set up, with a remit which included overseeing local authorities and being the first port of call for their queries in relation to central government policy.²¹ Much of the legislation that had previously been permissive became mandatory, ensuring a more consistent level of service provision through local authorities, and, as a consequence, helping to dissolve

the unique identity of each burgh. As local identity came under challenge, so some local authorities, such as Dundee, chose to assert their local power through the construction of their town hall in a more defensive manner than had been necessary before: symbols of historic local strength became more prominent in their design.

While some consolidation was gained by the above acts, Scottish local government continued to operate on a very local scale: by 1900 there were 33 County Councils, 200 Burgh Councils, 860 Parish Councils and over 1,000 School Boards.²² Central government further rationalised this extensive local government provision with the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1929.²³ This Act greatly reduced the numbers of local authorities in Scotland, and limited the operation of power on a very local level of the district council to the management of parks, public halls and other forms of recreational facilities: effectively support services outside what residents would view as an essential part of the local government provision. All decisions that would impact greatly on the life of the resident were no longer to be taken at a town council level, removing local agency from the decision-making process on important matters. As a result, the role of the political section of the local authority became more ceremonial than functional, and there began a gradual shift towards greater dominance by the administrative functions of councils, measured in the relative square footage allowed to each in new town halls.

Following World War II, the role of the state increased dramatically. The legitimising framework for this new era of intervention was Keynesian economic ideas which reversed the laissez faire economics of the nineteenth century and repositioned state expenditure at the heart of government policy, coupled with the interventionist policies of the post-war consensus.²⁴ Local government played an important role in this new state strategy, taking on responsibilities in housing, education, social services, economic development and others, as directed from central government.

Two Acts in particular meant further key changes for local government in Scotland. The introduction of the National Health Service (NHS) and the Town and Country Planning Act in Scotland in 1947 significantly changed the nature of the service provision by town councils. The NHS took over health from the local authority in favour of a national programme of intervention administered locally, while the Town and Country Planning Act considerably developed the scope of

responsibilities for the physical environment already held by Scottish town councils and carried out by the Dean of Guild. The level of local discretion that could be operated by the Dean of Guild was all but removed by the constraints of the Planning Act, which sought and achieved a standardisation of building and environmental control across the entire United Kingdom.

As well as the changes wrought by the above, the post-war Labour government transferred national assistance, electricity and gas to national bodies, taking them out of local government. The municipalisation of such services through local Acts of Parliament had been a defining moment in the history of the burgh for many local authorities in Scotland and a cause for intense civic pride in the locality: their removal from local control to national bodies removed the sense of identity such local investments had held for citizens. Town halls were no longer the epicentre of government and service provision that they had grown to be in the nineteenth century, and the correspondingly grand architecture associated with such great power began to tail off in favour of less dramatic architectural expressions.

With the removal of almost all strategic power from the town council, there was a corresponding drop in the quality of local Councillors, as those at high levels in business took cognisance that change could only be affected in national rather than local politics. The weight of administrative duties placed upon Councils in the post-war period had also stretched the capacity of the structures set up by the 1929 Act well beyond what had originally been intended, such that by the latter half of the twentieth century, it was clear that, in the words of the Wheatley Commission, "something is seriously wrong with local government in Scotland".²⁵

The Commission found that Scottish local government was being carried out on far too small a scale, with many local authorities being asked to administer central government strategies without the necessarily skilled staff or resourcing. In response, the Commission recommended entirely dismantling the system of burgh government in favour of a new regionally-based system, which heralded the construction of Lanark County Buildings – one of the case study buildings. This would align local government with central government policy, which was actively involved in both the regionalisation of its departments and strategically planning for regional-sized economies. The idea of local had been redefined at a regional level, rather than at town council level. This, Wheatley argued, would

strike the right balance between central government and local authority, allowing a region to control its own development without undue interference from the state. In reality, it meant that the district councils became administrators of local policy as defined at regional level, which in itself was derived from national legislation. The opinion of those of smaller areas was channelled through community councils, with no power or function. The ambiguity of the purpose of local government is well-defined in the town halls of the period such as Paisley and Motherwell Civic Centres, where civic, district and regional functions are shuffled around the plans without clear spatial or functional definition.

The Wheatley Commission's recommendations were slightly altered when enacted under the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973, creating 9 regions and 53 districts. Reorganisation took place in 1975, removing burgh-centred local government from Scotland in favour of a regionally-based system of administration derived from central government policies. Town halls built after this date were no longer places of government within the meaning of locally-based power that had been endemic in their construction since the medieval period and as such cannot be considered within the same thematic framework as those built within the period 1833-1975.

Town halls can be examined within the context of this knowledge of municipal government to demonstrate how power sources from within and without the local authority interacted with each other. As will be seen, their conflicts typically reached a crisis point with the construction of the town hall, creating an unusually clear illustration of the changes within the power relationship of local and national government.

4.2 Scottish and the Centre: Political Context

During the greatest period of development in local government for Scotland in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the relationship with central government was marred by comparisons with the perceived preferential treatment of Ireland, because of the activist mentality of Irish nationalist MPs in the House of Commons. Scotland's affairs had been managed by the Home Office since 1827, without a figurehead taking overall responsibility: Ireland, on the other hand, had representation through the Chief Secretary for Ireland, which, since the Act of Union in 1801, had been effectively the role of a government minister, with a seat in Cabinet. In addition, there was a sentiment

that Scottish affairs and the corresponding legislation was inadequately provided for within parliament; particularly galling, as the ruling Liberal party received much of its support from Scottish voters. As Lord Rosebery wrote to Gladstone: "Scotland is the backbone of the liberal party, and . . . there is some discontent as to her treatment".²⁶ Further, Scottish Acts were based on English Acts, which were not written with the differences of Scottish law in mind. All of this led to increased pressure for the reintroduction of the Secretary of State for Scotland, who it was argued could vet Bills in advance for their adherence to Scottish law, leaving more time for discussion of Scottish issues and providing parliament and Scotland with a specific advocate for issues relating to north of the border.²⁷

The position of the Secretary of State for Scotland was reintroduced in 1885, but was counterbalanced by the introduction of Home Rule for Ireland in 1886. The issue caused serious ructions within the Scottish Liberal Party and drew unfavourable comparisons for Gladstone, who had declared publically, while in Aberdeen in 1871, that he considered Home Rule to be inappropriate if not offered to Scotland and Wales as well as Ireland.²⁸ A Scottish Home Rule Association was set up the same year, emphasising the loyalty of Scotland to the Crown, in comparison with the disruptive tactics of the Irish.

In the later years of the nineteenth century, and into the early years of the twentieth century, the pressure for greater powers for Scotland grew as the dominant Liberal party sought social reforms in land, temperance and education policies that were at odds with the desires of the Conservative-led House of Lords, who blocked such legislation from passing. In contrast to England and Wales, Scotland remained largely Liberal, while the Conservatives became an increasingly equivalent force in the south, highlighting the difference in beliefs across the United Kingdom. Scottish Home Rule was increasingly on the agenda, and the Scottish Home Rule Bill was progressing satisfactorily through parliament until the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

The enthusiasm for separate government all but disappeared in the aftermath of the war, as Ireland's 1916 Rising had proved the potentially disastrous outcome for the Union of allowing Home Rule. The Liberal Party was no longer the force it had once been in Scotland, with that position now held by the Labour Party. They took on the separatist mantle as a means of uniting the party, and reinforcing the idea of a cultural difference between Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom that would support a socialist agenda. However, their enthusiasm was short-lived amidst an under-performing economy and defeat in

the 1926 General Strike. Home Rule was a less attractive option, and the party began to shift towards thinking that centralisation could provide the most stable means of protecting workers through achieving a critical mass with greater bargaining power. When rearmament began in the late 1930s, and the Scottish economy improved correspondingly, the importance of staying in the Union was confirmed.

Following World War II, with Home Rule now effectively off the agenda in favour of a more limited Scottish Parliament, Scotland's Secretary of State Thomas Johnston – a senior figure in the Scottish Labour Party – asserted its priorities as being industrial diversification and population dispersal. His views were supported by the 1942 Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services – known as the Beveridge Report after its author, William Beveridge – which ushered in the Welfare State. The job of implementing its recommendations, once ratified by government, was passed to the Scottish Office, which set up its own Boards of Agriculture, Education and Health and managed large-scale reconstruction plans. This necessitated a doubling of civil servants to 5,000 in the post-war period, now with a clear remit for the development of Scotland that was separate to plans for England and Wales. This division of labour was still under the auspices of central government, however, who played a pivotal role in the release of resources, as is discussed in Chapter 5 in relation to Kirkcaldy Town House. The Scottish Office still did not have the power to decide on new policies and took its direction from central government: by the 1980s, as one historian has commented, the Scottish Office was more like the largest and most influential pressure group in the United Kingdom than a place of government.²⁹

While Scotland sought separation from the United Kingdom on a number of occasions during the period under investigation, it was unsuccessful. Whatever regional variations achieved through local Acts of Parliament during the nineteenth century were undone by the standardisation of service and administrative provision across the countries of the Union at the turn of the twentieth century. Although Scotland's political make up remained different to that south of its borders, this did not impact on the functional requirements of its town halls, which were very similar in design to those of its neighbours throughout the period under study.

4.3 The Scottishness of Scottish Town Halls

While this thesis focusses solely on Scottish town halls, the conclusions drawn are equally applicable to all town halls from the period across Britain. With the

notable exception of the popular employment of the Scottish Baronial style in Scotland, where this was almost non-existent outside of the country, there are almost no discernible differences in the form or functions of British town halls for the period under study.³⁰

This was not the case in the period directly preceding it. In pre-1833 Scottish town halls, it was common to find a forestair installed to the front of the building, giving access to the first floor and providing a staging area for public pronouncements. This was not the practice in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, where the earlier town halls were commonly open at ground floor level for markets, with the Council rooms above. As local government became more common following the changes wrought by the Scottish Municipal Reform Act of 1833 and the same Act in England of 1835 however, town halls moved away from the established forms towards creating a new building type that incorporated offices as well as meeting rooms, as the burdens of administration grew larger.

The very localism of the development of town halls meant that differences between British countries were minimised. In *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls*, Colin Campbell discusses this issue and concludes that "Their importance lies . . . in the increasing variety of ways in which the traditional vocabulary was reinterpreted to create an expression of each town's individual personality".³¹ Each town was attempting to define itself, not as a part of Scotland or England, but as a distinct urban centre. The priority was to establish the dominant power in the town, as is discussed further in Chapter 3, and in most cases during the Victorian era, to provide a central hub for town society to meet in. As is evident in the speeches for Renfrew Town Hall's foundation stone laying in 1872, discussed in Chapter 5, the desire was to limit national control in favour of a locally-based system of government. It followed that the form of the town hall was designed to meet local needs, rather than create a nationally-specific suite of spaces.

In the use of Scots Baronial as a style however, Scottish town halls did differ from their counterparts in other parts of Britain. While it was extremely common in Scotland, as noted in Section 5.2 below, it was substituted for Gothic elsewhere. Alfred Waterhouse's Manchester Town Hall, begun in 1868, is a particularly fine example of neo-Gothic, although the form is similar to that used at Glasgow City Chambers some fifteen years later in 1883, as shown below:



Figures 1&2: Left: Manchester Town Hall, right: Glasgow City Chambers.

Source: <http://chrissyvalrey.narod.ru/manchester-town-hall.html> and https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/LocationPhotoDirectLink-g186534-d214104-i148659717-City_Chambers-Glasgow_Scotland.html, both accessed December 21, 2016.

Both buildings incorporate tall bell and clock towers as the central element in their composition, with corner towers articulating the composition. It is clear from the fenestration patterns that the principle rooms are at an upper level, with lesser spaces located above and below. As Campbell notes, a particularity of the building type was the stress on creating a highly elaborate façade, which is clearly evident in both examples above.³²

While the use of gothic waned in preference for baroque in the Edwardian era outside of Scotland, Scots Baronial continued to be a popular choice throughout the early years of the twentieth century, only dying out completely at the end of World War I. From then on, any stylistic differences between Scottish and other British town halls died out completely, as the modern era encouraged the employment of styles without a local or national connection. The similarities in form and function across Britain continued and indeed intensified with the increasing centralisation of government. George Kenyon's 1967 Newcastle Civic Centre - considered one of the finest International Modernist buildings in the United Kingdom - was more similar to Lanark County Buildings than any town hall built elsewhere in England.



Figures 3&4: Left: Newcastle Civic Centre, right: Lanark County Buildings.

Source: <http://manchesterhistory.net/architecture/1960/civiccentre.html> and author's site survey, 2 August, 2013.

Both buildings had an articulated council chamber attached to a monolithic administrative block, within which was a banqueting hall. Both made use of the exterior space to create water features that added to the setting for the building. With the exception of the artistic and decorative additions to the building, including the employment of locally-sourced materials, there is little to distinguish one from the other.

With the exception of the choice of style until after World War I, there are no discernible national differences between Scottish town halls and those of the rest of Britain. The type developed alongside economic and administrative trends, rather than from any sense of a national identity that was other than that of Britain as a whole.

4.4 Social Change

Up until the 1880s, society in Scotland and Britain in general was still dominated by the aristocracy. The majority of parliamentary members were still landed, and the House of Lords was still the preserve of those not directly involved in industry. The aristocratic sense of identity was still coherent, as opposed to that of the middle and working classes, whose sense of self was only developing.³³

At a local level, the aristocracy often played a large role in early urban development schemes, through leading on such environmental projects such as municipal waste disposal and water provision. Early town halls, built in the first three quarters of the century, can be seen as a form of opposition to this patrician control and the legitimisation of a new administrative body. Instead of

taking the form of a town house with forestair and bell, as was commonly the case in the eighteenth century, inspiration was drawn from more public forms of architecture to appropriate for town halls: the 1859 Italianate Irvine Town Hall by James Ingram, for example, could be mistaken for a church or a bank. This is further discussed in Chapter 5.

The latter half of the nineteenth century brought with it the gradual dismantlement of aristocratic control over both town and country. With the reform of county government in the 1880s, the agricultural depression, and the weakening of the Liberals, the position of the aristocracy was lessened to the point where there was a gradual shift in their attitude to the land. With the increase in power and wealth of local councils, coupled with the standardising legislation passed by central government, municipal authorities were beginning to flex their strength in a way that made it clear to the landed gentry that their influence was waning. Town halls were constructed that paid no deference to established wealth, and instead celebrated the new wealth of industrialisation, as at the 1879 Greenock Municipal Buildings by Hugh and David Barclay and Glasgow City Chambers, designed by William Young in 1882.

Accordingly, instead of seeing their estate as the bastion of family wealth and tradition; an unchanging responsibility and asset passed between the generations, they began to sell off their estates, at a slow rate at first which was much increased in the aftermath of both world wars, when local authorities began to look at such swathes of green field property at the edge of their towns as ideal sites for housing. This was particularly the case after the passing of the Town Planning Act of 1909, which gave local authorities the opportunity to buy undeveloped land for betterment, apply a scheme to it, and then demand a betterment levy from the increased revenue received from the original owner.³⁴

By contrast, the middle classes enjoyed a period of dominance in late nineteenth and early twentieth century local government. The new industrialists had a vested interest in the success of their towns, as a manifestation of the success of their economic pursuits, and took an active role on town councils. Their focus on the town as the centre of political life can be seen as the key driver in making urban politics the most important political platform of the day. They were supported by a vast increase in non-manual workers: the numbers of clerks had increased from 95,000 in 1850 to 843,000 in 1914.³⁵ The working classes, on the other hand, remained largely outside of municipal government until the twentieth century, when the Scottish Labour Party came to dominance.

The interplay of class had begun to play a bigger role in urban politics than previously, as the majority of people began to identify themselves with either the social values of the middle classes or the self-conscious awareness of working class culture. Each social stratum began to align itself with either of the main political parties; both of which, crucially, were in opposition to the non-working aristocracy.

The aristocracy often still played a performative role in local government, however. As is discussed further in Chapter 5, ceremonials involving the creation of a new town hall often centered around the involvement of a local landowner, who might be called upon to open the hall, lay the foundation stone, and often make speeches within the ceremony itself. In Scotland, they were rarely prevailed upon to take an active role in local government, however, although they still stood for election to Parliament. Their largely decorative local function allowed the town council to appropriate their history and traditions into the new town hall, and up to the 1950s, such buildings commonly incorporated decorative schemes that referenced what had come to be seen as a joint urban heritage.

The involvement of the upper middle classes also began to decrease following World War I, as industrialists retreated from active participation in local politics following the growth of the Labour movement. Labour's focus was on effecting national change - John Wheatley's 1924 Housing Act legislated for the first major programme of municipal house building, for example - and thus the previous emphasis on the manifestation of power at a local level began to be lost by those councils under labour control. During the 1940s, the nationalisation of Scottish-owned companies providing coal, railways and steel further moved focus from local provision to the servicing of national goals.³⁶

By the 1960s, the aristocracy no longer played an active role in local government, having all but disappeared from public view. The upper middle classes had also retreated from local political life as towns became less desirable and councils were more and more the instruments of national government control. In their place in Scotland was a huge move towards Labour, as local councils were taken over by those who had the support of the mobilised working classes. The emphasis shifted from the grand projects of the industrial leaders of the nineteenth century to more prosaic concerns regarding the levels of rates and housing provision. For town halls across the United Kingdom, this meant an increase in functionaries working in these sectors, and a corresponding need to

make space for them in their increasingly-administration-focused buildings. Councillors, no longer leaders of industry, struggled with the level of technical knowledge required to direct their increasingly specialised staff, and relied on their officers to lead development more and more. Like the aristocrats who preceded them, their role became less about guiding the future of the town council, and more about providing a veneer of custom and ritual to decisions that this time were already made by those in Westminster and finessed at a local level by administrators. As can be deduced from the physical and written evidence of town halls of the time, their power and control could only be suggested by reference to larger forces outside of the town council itself, in a tacit acknowledgement of their loss of authority.

For the construction of town halls, social change meant a weakening in the direction and control over their construction from the client's perspective. Instead of the confidence witnessed in the creation of the major nineteenth century buildings, town halls were increasingly developed with a greater reliance on the interventions of others outside of the town's government, including those with technical expertise and those representing central government. As a result, a less locally-specific building with a greater weighting towards administration rather than local politics became more common.

5 Survey

This thesis, in examining six town halls in considerable detail, does not have the scope to provide a detailed gazetteer of all town halls in Scotland, although a list of all town halls in Scotland, together with their dates of construction and architects, is included as Appendix 1. However, for the case study buildings to be understood fully, it is important that their context in terms of the overall patterns of town hall building and key examples be described. The quantity, temporal, geographic and stylistic distribution of town halls in Scotland has not been charted to date, leaving a substantial gap in architectural knowledge.

This survey has revealed that the constituent elements of a town hall were often subject to change and multiplication as urban centres changed over time. Frequently, in towns with a long history of economic prosperity, there is more than one building that can be considered a town hall, as the functional emphasis has developed since the initial construction. When town halls were built and retained from the early nineteenth century in particular, the original building takes on a more ritual and social role, while the political function and administrative needs are moved to a new building. In a sense, the original town

hall becomes a memorial to times past, cut off from the dynamism of the current administration. Interestingly, however, the original building always retains its original name despite no longer fulfilling this purpose, while the newer construction becomes the Chambers or the Municipal Buildings, for example. This creates a purely ceremonial set of associations with the original name that does not appear to conflict with the need of the local authority to appropriate its authority, which is often expressed in built form, as is discussed in Chapter 4.

In Aberdeen, for example, the original town hall, dating to 1868, was supported by a new administrative tower constructed in 1962. Both the town hall and the tower were extended in 1975 to provide a new political wing in the former and further administration space in the latter. The town hall is now a vastly-extended collection of spaces across two sites. The ceremonial, political and administrative functions are treated as distinct units serviced by spatial elements linked to a particular time in the building's development, where important ritual is relegated to the original expression of civic pride, rather than incorporated into the modern additions to the building. This is evidenced in the design of later town halls, where opportunities for ritual are gradually scaled back in favour of more prosaic concerns of administration.

The following sections provide high level information on when and where Scottish town halls were built in Scotland during the period under study, looking at patterns of town hall building under themes of time, space and style as useful mechanisms for providing the context for this study.

5.1 Methodology

This survey documents town halls constructed over the period 1833-1973. Town halls are defined as buildings of local or regional government, containing spaces that facilitate political and administrative functions. Social function spaces are not consistently provided across the period, nor is it considered core to the provision of local government, therefore buildings that contain a banqueting hall and administrative spaces, without also including a political chamber, are excluded from this survey. As a result, 92 village and burgh halls, as well as a number of later purely administrative buildings, are excluded from the survey results documented below.

Town halls are commonly the most ornate civic building in a town or region, their only competition being the Sheriff Courts, which also enjoyed their peak of construction in the mid to late nineteenth century. This quality of construction means that when they were constructed before the nineteen sixties and

seventies, as most were, they are Listed Buildings within the meaning of the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) (Scotland) Act 1997.

Historic Environment Scotland maintains an online register of Listed Buildings, which has been searched to provide the majority of buildings included within this study. The resulting list was cross-referenced with the online database of The Dictionary of Scottish Architects, using keywords associated with town halls, to provide information on unlisted town halls, particularly those dating from the later period within the survey timescale.

The date used to record a town hall is the date construction began, or when a building was converted to form a town hall, as in the case of Rothesay Town Hall, for example, where the 1832 jail and administrative offices were converted to a town hall in 1888.

5.2 Statistical Analysis

168 town halls were documented as part of this survey. Their distribution across time is shown below:

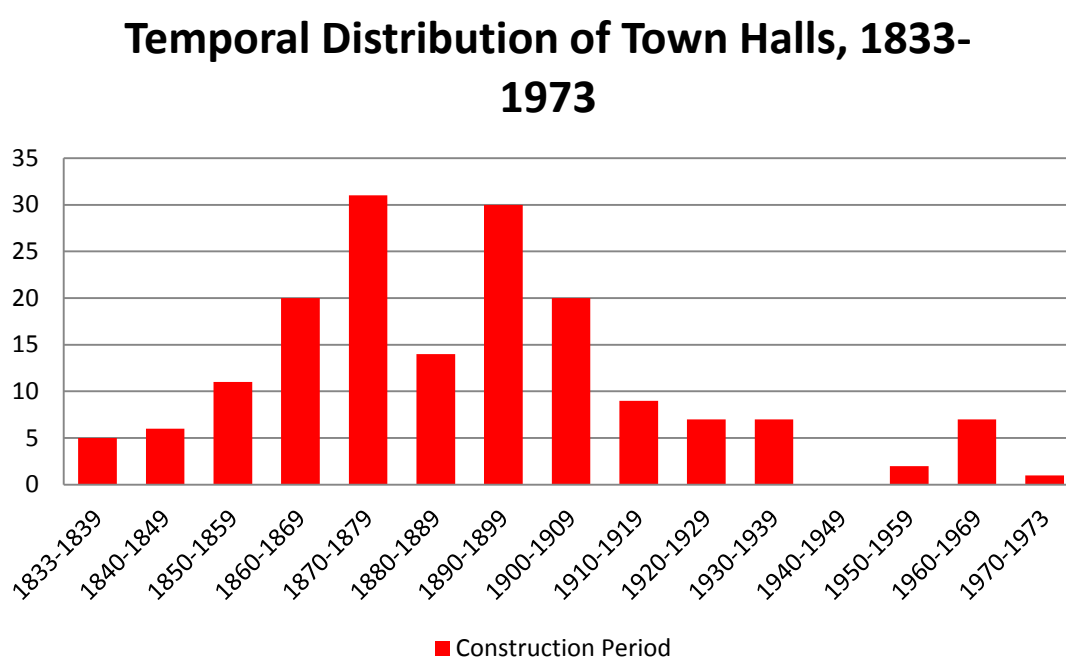


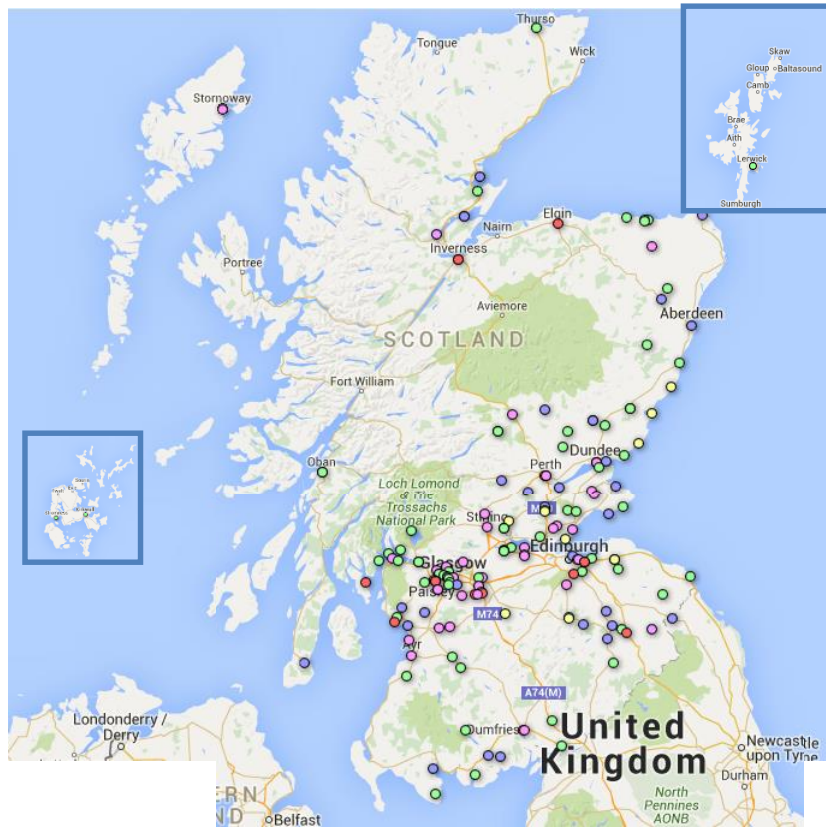
Figure 5: Temporal Distribution of Town Halls, 1833-1973.

Source: Author's survey.

It is notable from the above bar chart that the majority of Scottish town halls were constructed over a fifty year period, when 115 of the 168 buildings surveyed were built. The peak period for construction - 1860-1910 - corresponds

with the period of Scotland's greatest industrial development. This confirms the link between the growth of nineteenth century self-government and economic prosperity, but also links the increased numbers of town halls to the greater level of central government intervention in local matters, culminating with the setting up of the Scottish Office in 1885, as detailed in Section 4.1. The opposite of this is also reflected in the very small number of town halls – 2- commenced in the immediate post-World War II period, when the United Kingdom was experiencing an economic depression. The numbers pick up once more with the changes in planning policy in the nineteen fifties and sixties, with the introduction of New Towns and the addition of major new housing estates to previously small settlements. The correspondence between political and social change, and the impetus to construct a new town hall, is evident.

National stimulants were not the only catalyst for building a new town hall. The series of maps below show the spread of town halls across Scotland, corresponding to the major towns and cities of the country. As is notable from the colour-coding of the map points, there is a pattern of particular areas experiencing a boom in town hall construction within the same period: for example, there is a high number of town halls built around the industrial heartland of Glasgow in the period 1870-1899. However, the pattern is also evident without these boom years for the economy. Examples of this are in Fife, where three town halls were constructed between 1900-1939; and in the Borders region and North Ayrshire, where four and three town halls respectively were built in close proximity to one another from the period 1850-1869, before the peak of the industrial prosperity was felt. These are shown in Figures 4-6 below.



Key

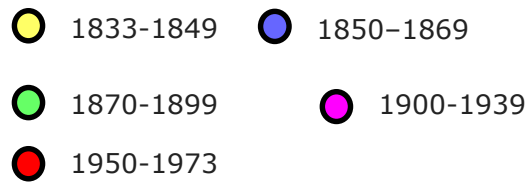


Figure 6: Geographic distribution of town halls across Scotland, 1833-1973.

Note due to the scale of the map, some points are hidden: for example, Inverness Town House is not visible below the point for Inverness County Buildings.

Source: Author's survey

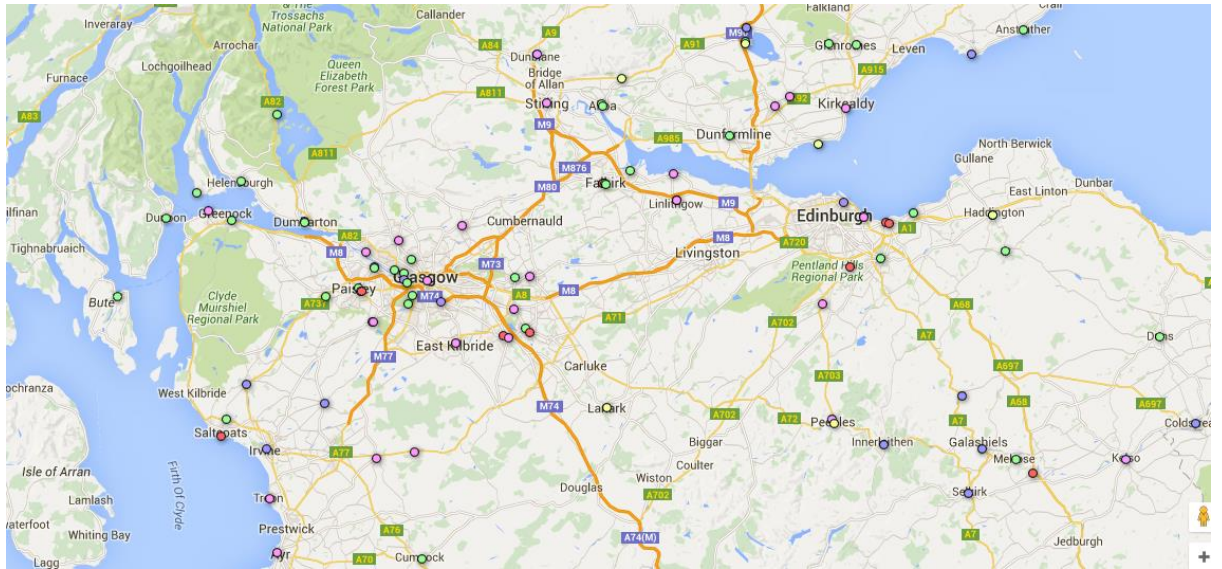


Figure 7: Geographical distribution of town halls across Scotland's Central Belt.

Source: Author's survey.



Figures 8-10: Examples of civic boosterism in the construction of town halls: Fife, the Borders, and North Ayrshire.

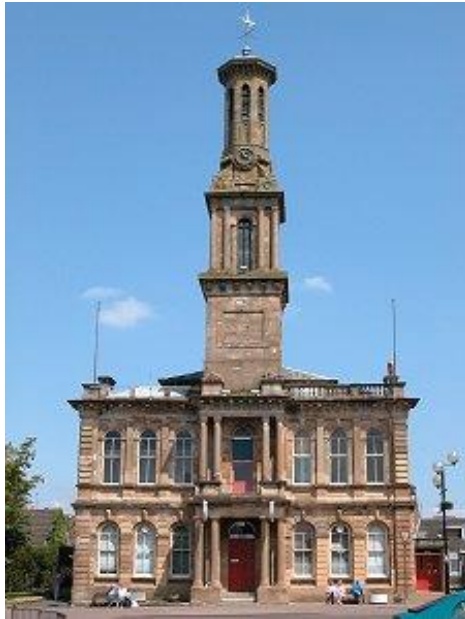
Source: Author's survey.

This indicates a pattern of civic boosterism: where neighbouring local authorities felt the need to compete with one another to maintain their prestige within the local area, rather than building town halls as a result of national catalysts for construction such as the economy or political shifts.³⁷ This suggests that the building of town halls was often a distinctly local concern; as much of a product of the individual local government as the sponsoring of a Bill before Parliament. Their marked uniqueness within the requirements to provide a standard set of functions within an expected progression of spaces is a testament to this local

character, and is supported by the evidence of the styles chosen for building town halls, as discussed below.

The latest of the buildings, dating from the period 1950-1973, exhibit a pattern in direct contradiction to their predecessors. Unlike those built earlier, these town halls were not built in places experiencing economic growth, nor were they built in numbers in close enough proximity to suggest boosterism as a driver. Instead, they were built as a response to administrative need, which in turn was established by central government through the reorganisation and amalgamation of local authorities. Town halls built during this period were no longer the product of a local requirement, but rather of a national strategy, losing the individuality of the connection with urban society that earlier buildings had enjoyed.

The individuality of the local area was a key factor in the decision of which style to employ for a town hall, this survey has found. In defining the style of the town halls included within this survey, Historic Environment Scotland's List Description terminology was used. This offers a level of consistency in interpretation that provides reliable results across the survey buildings. I have departed from their use of the term "Scots/Scottish Renaissance" to include such buildings within the numbers for Scots Baronial, as the former is generally understood to be a sub-category of the latter. Where town halls are not considered Listed Buildings and thus do not have a List Description prepared for them, I have selected the most appropriate description based on similar buildings described by Historic Environment Scotland. Below are examples of town halls in some of the most common styles of the period:



Figures 11-14: Examples of classically-styled town halls: the Italian Renaissance Irvine Town House (James Ingram, 1859), the restrained market hall-style classicism of Oldmeldrum Town Hall (William Smith, 1877), the Beaux-Arts inspired French Renaissance style of Glasgow City Chambers (William Young, 1888), and the Edwardian Baroque Hamilton Town House (Alexander Cullen, 1912).

Sources:

<http://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/irvine/irvine/>; <http://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/oldmeldrum/oldmeldrum/images/oldmeldrum-450.jpg>; <http://www.encorehospitalityservices.co.uk/Venues/Glasgow-City-Chambers>; all accessed March 21 2016, and author's photograph, taken 14 October 2013.

The very wide variation in what can be considered a classical building makes it more difficult to define. Buildings that are arguably vernacular structures with a small amount of classical detailing attached are included within this group, as can be Italian Renaissance-style buildings, neo-Baroque and a large of number

of Beaux-arts town halls. The examples shown above demonstrate the range of building appearances that can be created using this style.



Figures 15-18: Scots Baronial town halls at Stow (Architect unknown, 1854), Inverness (William Lawrie, 1878), Helensburgh (John Honeyman, 1878), and Dumbarton (James Thomson, 1900).

Source: <http://www.scottish-places.info/towns/moretpix246.html>, <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1870242>, <http://www.argyll-bute.gov.uk/property/municipal-buildings-1-east-princes-street-helensburgh-0>, and <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3251296>, all accessed June 14, 2016.

As is evidenced by the examples above, Scots Baronial town halls are distinguished through the use of a multitude of projecting elements, including bartisans, towers and crow-stepped gables. Corbelling is a common feature, as is decorative carved stone work. Asymmetry is common, and the style can be applied from the largest to the smallest of town halls.



Figures 19-20: The Jacobethan St. Andrews Town Hall (James Hamilton, 1858) and the Tudor Duns County Offices (James Jerdan, 1880).

Source:

<http://s298.photobucket.com/user/ladypjg/media/Scotland/StAndrewsTownHall2.jpg.html>; <http://www.berwickshirenews.co.uk/news/local-news/all-local-news/duns-sheriff-court-closes-amid-concerns-1-3672250>, all accessed June 14, 2016.

Tudor and Jacobethan (so-called because it is a mixture of Jacobean and Elizabethan features) town halls are characterised by a range of pre-Renaissance stylistic influences and by the flatness of features: projecting elements are rarely in the round large bays of windows feature prominently; often with diamond-leaded panes. While Tudor buildings are generally symmetrical, Jacobethan town halls are more commonly asymmetrical.

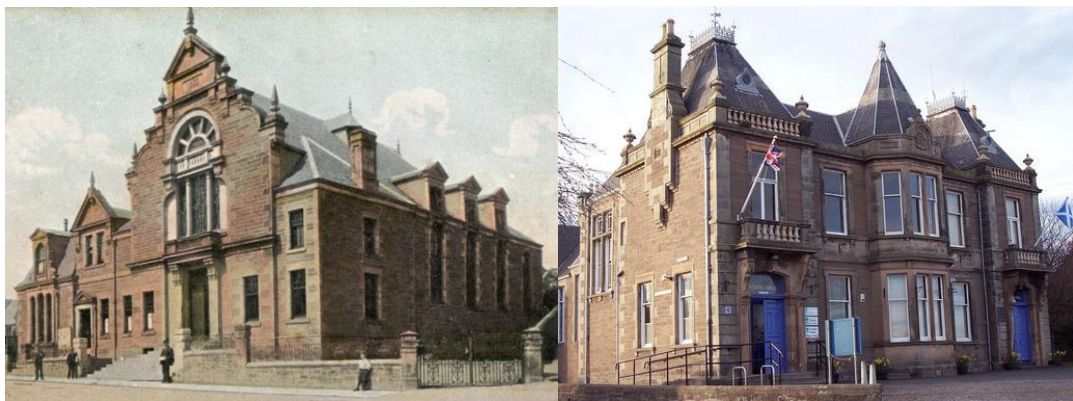


Figure 21: The gothic Perth Municipal Buildings (Andrew Heiton, 1877).

Source: Canmore ID ref: SC 1029349

Gothic town halls differ from their Scots Baronial counterparts in the use of detailing that speaks more strongly to an ecclesiastical past,

rather than castles and keeps – although there is much in common between the two. Features such as carved trefoils, pointed windows and a pronounced verticality in arrangement are notable.



Figures 22-23: the Queen Anne Kirriemuir Town Hall (C&L Ower, 1885) and the French and the Hotel de Ville-style Coupar Angus Town Hall (David Smart, 1886).

Sources: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/iainh124a/1554550877> and http://wikishire.co.uk/wiki/File:Town_Hall,_Coupar_Angus_-_geograph.org.uk_-_411905.jpg, both accessed March 22 2016.

As well as the broader stylistic groups, a small but significant group of town halls were also subject to more idiosyncratic style choices, pointing to the eclecticism of the period of their construction. Above are two examples of buildings at Kirriemuir and Angus, which were designed outside of the general trends of style to reflect the particular will of their sponsors. In such buildings, elements associated with a variety of periods were employed to create a uniquely personalised design.



Figure 24: Motherwell Civic Centre (Wylie Shanks & Partners, 1965).

Source: Author's photograph, site survey, August 17, 2013.

Modern town halls tend to be bold statements in concrete and steel, making dramatically different use of their sites than their predecessors, either through skyscraper towers such as that at Lanark, described in detail in the forthcoming chapters, or through longitudinal plans such as at Motherwell Civic Centre, shown. Their style varies from the slim steelwork of International Modernism to the heavy shuttered concrete forms of Brutalism.

All of the styles above were used for town halls in Scotland, during the peak periods of construction. As the above examples demonstrate, any style could be appropriated in service of the production of a town hall. Depending on the fashions of the day, those commissioning and designing town halls saw fit to appropriate whatever style of architecture they felt suited local conditions best, selecting from either of the broad palette of stylistic eclecticism available to them within the nineteenth century, or from the array of forms enabled by concrete and steel in the Modernist era.³⁸ This is not to suggest that the choice of style was in any way haphazard, but rather a considered approach to emphasise certain meanings inherent in the chosen style that had relevance for the locality and its relationship to neighbouring towns. The distribution of styles used for town halls over the individual decades is shown below.

Styles of Town Halls in Scotland, 1833-1973

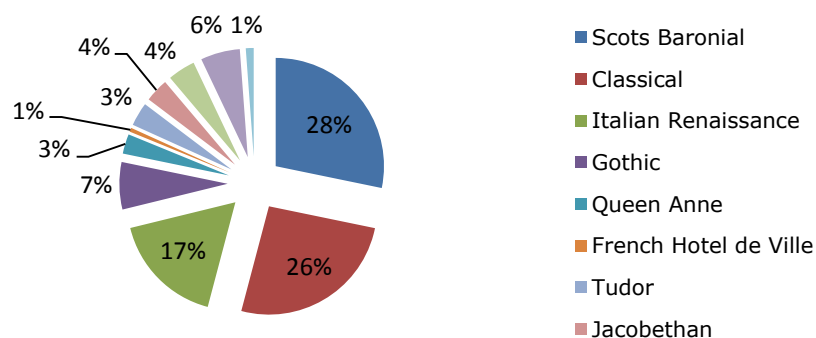


Figure 25: Styles of Town Halls in Scotland, 1833-1973.

Source: Historic Environment Scotland List Descriptions & author's survey.

The above shows that, contrary to popular belief, Scots Baronial architecture was the most popular style for town halls by only a slim margin, with classical styles almost as frequently employed. The generally-held view that the majority of nineteenth century town halls were built in this style is therefore incorrect. One can speculate that this view has been the product of misinterpreting Sheriff Courts as being town halls: it has been observed during this survey that a very large number of Sheriff Courts were built in this style, and they share similarities as components of the civic architecture of the urban environment.

As shown from the examples above, a large number of other styles were also employed, reflecting the stylistic diversity of the nineteenth century - when most were built - as well as the very localised approach to the design of town halls mentioned above.

Notwithstanding the above, there are preferences discernible in the styles used for town halls over time, as demonstrated in the chart below, which shows which styles were most popular at decade intervals within the study period.

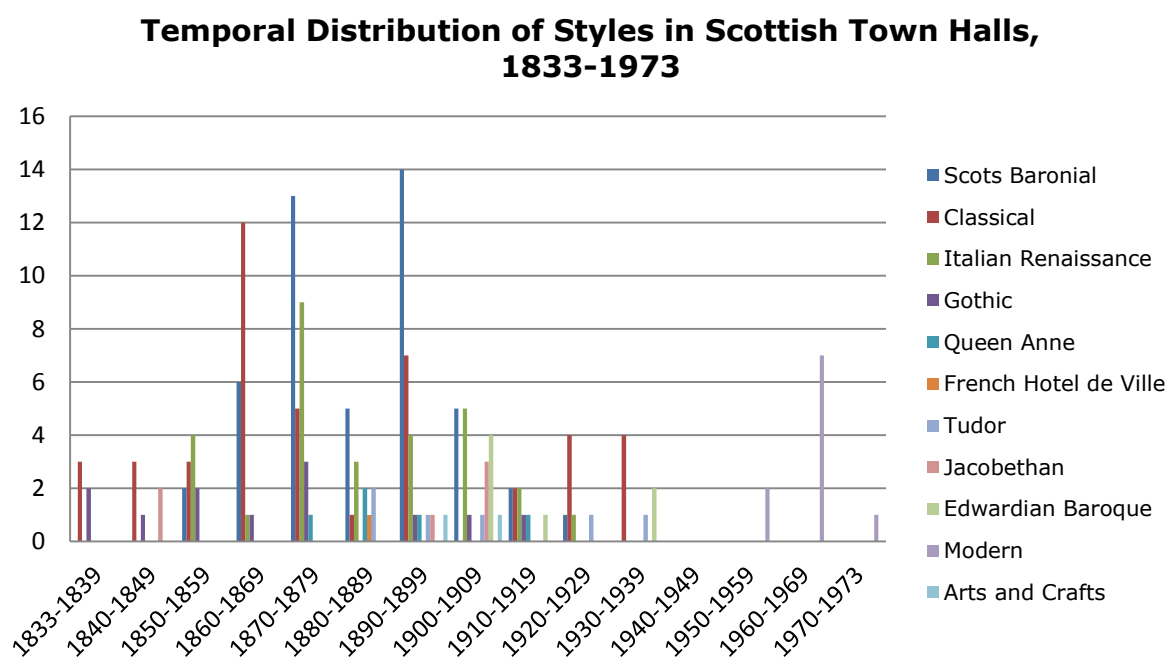


Figure 26: Temporal Distribution of Styles in Scottish Town Halls, 1833-1973.

Source: Historic Environment Scotland List Descriptions & author's survey.

The supremacy of Scots Baronial and Italian Renaissance as the preferred styles for town halls during the period of most construction points to the connection between these styles and associations of power: the former being frequently used for Court buildings and the latter for buildings of finance and administrations during the period. By employing such styles, town halls were appropriating these links as a means of proclaiming the message of power of the occupants, as is discussed further in Chapter 3.

As well as Italian Renaissance-style town halls, other classical styles were consistently employed throughout the period of the survey, with their dominance most marked in periods from 1860-69; at the start of the boom era for town hall construction, when the nineteenth century period of stylistic eclecticism was in its infancy and thus there were fewer options known about, and considered suitable and fashionable for implementation on town halls.

Style is an important consideration in divining the drivers for the construction of town halls, particularly when investigated in the local context, as is the case in Chapter 4, where the style of Burntisland Town Hall is shown to have broader implications as a statement of democracy. However, this localism prevents it being interpreted as having wider implications in the study of town halls, because its employment is too linked to individual conditions and the fashion of the day to indicate more general themes.

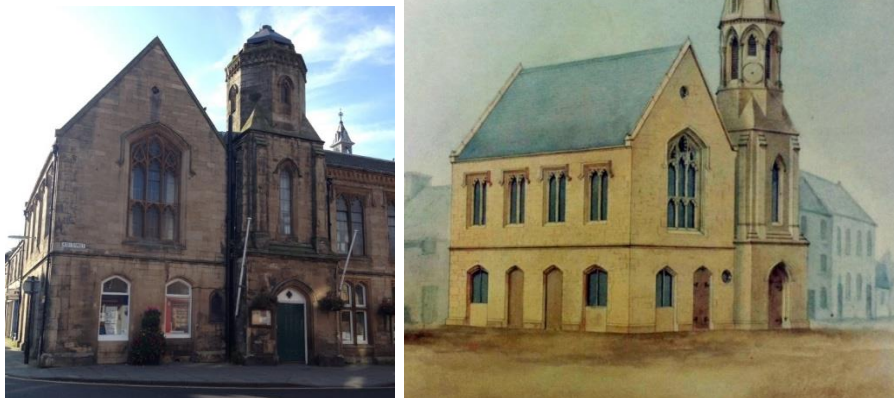
The survey data has revealed that almost two thirds of Scottish town halls from the period 1833-1973 were constructed within a very limited timespan, often as a result of developments in neighbouring towns. Buildings from within this period are more likely to be of a bold design, in keeping with the prosperous nature of the new or expanded industrial towns they served. Although Scots Baronial was the most commonly-used style for such buildings, its percentage usage overall does not suggest it was ubiquitous, but rather the most popular of a number of options available to the eclectic Victorians, particularly in times of public optimism.

The choice of style for town halls during the peak years of construction was a decision made on the basis of fashion within the local context, reflecting urban needs and aspirations, rather than any universal civic meaning implicit in the style. For this reason, style is not considered as a standalone theme within this thesis.

6 Key Buildings

Below is a description of buildings selected as case studies for this thesis, which provide as much balance as possible across the period in temporal and geographic distribution. These were chosen for their importance to the development of town halls in Scotland, and for the scope they offered for research in terms of the amount of primary and secondary source material available for analysis.

Burntisland Town Hall



Figures 27&28: Contemporary front elevation, now with truncated tower, and original presentation drawing of Burntisland Town Hall.

Sources: Author's photograph, site survey, 1 October 2015, and John Henderson, watercolour illustration of Burntisland Town Hall, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland: Hay and Henderson Collection, undated.

Designed at the behest of Burntisland Burgh Council by John Henderson in 1844 and completed two years later, Burntisland Town Hall is the earliest building selected for examination, and thus the first of the study group to have been completed following electoral and municipal reform and reorganisation.

Because it is an early version of a town hall, the building is modest in size. In its original form it comprised just two shops and an office at ground floor level, an ante room and town hall at first floor level, reached by means of a spiral

staircase within a tower, and a single room at second floor level. The building is built in a restrained gothic style and has a strong ecclesiastical flavour, which relate to the architect's desire to use a recognisably public and moral style of architecture for this product of the newly reformed electoral system, as is discussed further in Chapter 4.

This building was selected because it remains a relatively intact example of an early town hall, making survey observations about its interior a relatively accurate reflection of the intentions of the architect and the building's patrons. Unlike many other town halls of the period, there remain good primary resources of information regarding its construction, thanks to the survival of the Council's Minute Books within the collection of the National Archives of Scotland. Because of Burntisland's early trading history, the town has also been extensively mapped, leading to the availability of a wealth of cartographic sources. This allows its analysis as part of the changing emphasis of the town away from heavy industry and towards retail and tourism interests, as evinced by property uses noted on historic maps.

Renfrew Town Hall



Figure 29: Renfrew Town Hall, front elevation.

Source: Author's photograph, site survey, 12 February 2015.

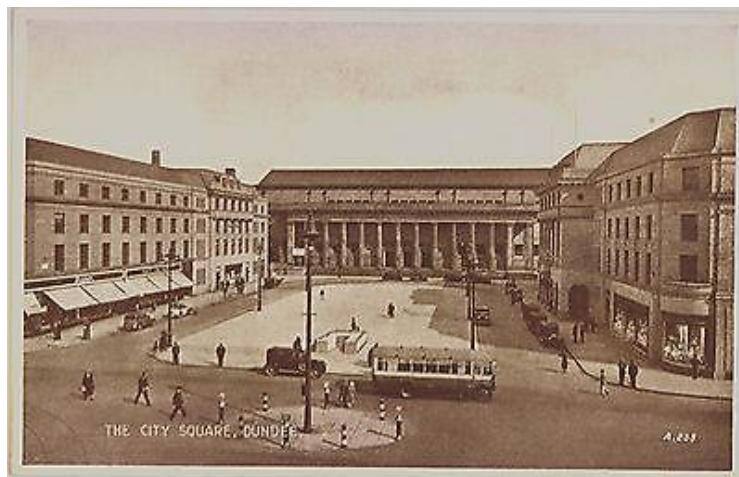
Renfrew Town Hall was built in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and thus displays attributes of Scotland's zenith of economic achievement. It was constructed on the site of the previous town hall in 1871, to designs by the little-known Paisley architect James Jamieson Lamb. On 13th April 1872, the foundation stone was laid of the building, with full Masonic honours and a vast ceremonial parade, offering valuable insight into the place and function of ritual in town halls. The building was roughly one third completed at that point, with its tower approximately half-finished. Renfrew Town Hall was formally opened on 17th October, 1873, during the years of the nineteenth century when most town halls were constructed, as discussed above. Its examination offers an insight as to the mind set of town councils at this high point of their existence.

The building was subject to a catastrophic fire on 6th March 1878, and was reconstructed to the same footprint, but with modifications to the internal arrangement and to the spire roof, evidencing the importance of the original design to the locality.

Renfrew Town Hall is four-bay, two storey and tower detached structure in the Scots Baronial style. The building is constructed in blonde sandstone with carved details to the hood moulding above the tower entrance and the upper and lower stringcourses. Its most dominant feature is the tower, which appears exaggerated in proportion to the rest of the relatively modest building, and can be seen for miles around in the role of a particularly strong symbol of power, as discussed in Chapter 3.

This town hall is representative of the exuberance and confidence of this high point for town halls, and was extensively documented through newspaper sources. In particular, the evidence of rituals related to the building is particularly rich. Contextual information about the industrial development of Scotland's Central Belt is also widely available, providing a useful framework for examining the building and town's role relative to its neighbours.

Dundee City Chambers





Figures 30&31: Dundee City Square soon after completion and contemporary image of the West Wing of Dundee City Chambers.

Sources: Postcard image, Author's collection and Author's photograph, site survey, December 2014.

Dundee City Chambers was designed and completed in the inter-war period of the nineteen thirties, when the relationship between central and local government was undergoing substantial change as the former claimed more power from the latter. The suite of buildings, comprising East and West Wings, is broadly derived from a perspective sketch drawing completed by Sir John Burnet in 1924, although Burnet did not participate in the detailed design, other than to comment on individual elements when approached by Dundee City Council. His vision of the buildings surrounding a public square dominated later designs.

The East Wing, built by Harry Wilson to the designs of the City Architect James McLellan Brown, was originally built as premises for the retailer Burtons, but was later converted to Council office accommodation above ground floor. The West Wing comprises retail premises at ground floor with the Council Chamber at first floor, as well as the Provost's suite and accommodation for Council officers. This emphasis on retail opened up questions on the changing function of town halls, which were growing more functionally specific at the time of construction: retail was becoming an unpalatable association, as is discussed in Chapter 2.

While both buildings are designed to broadly harmonise stylistically, the West Wing has a five bay projecting central section, forming the main entrance to the building. It was also designed by City Architect James McLellan Brown. The Wings are on either side of the Caird Hall. The eighteenth century William Adam-designed Town House was demolished in 1932 to facilitate the construction of the West Wing, which was completed in 1933. This demolition was highly controversial and opened up a considerable debate locally on the relative roles of central and local government, ending in the Council's decision to use the town hall as a demonstration of their power over the urban environment, as is discussed in Chapter 3.

Dundee's location north of Scotland's central belt allows this case study to provide a different perspective on the post-industrial Scottish urban environment than those towns and cities found in greater numbers further south. Dundee's twentieth century history of municipally-sponsored works involving the historic environment offer a full picture of a local authority which was very engaged with the physicality of the city, and the publication of an annual Council Year Book – by no means a comprehensively-provided document for other towns and cities – gives an additional layer of insight into the thinking of the Council in the years of the City Chambers' development and construction.

Kirkcaldy Town House



Figure 32: Kirkcaldy Town House, soon after completion.

Source: Kirkcaldy Local History Library collection, image taken 8th October 1960.

Kirkcaldy Town House is a three-storey, seventeen-bay modern classical building, constructed from 1939-1956, with a hiatus of ten years from 1939-1949. The pause in construction - caused by World War II - meant that building work straddled the pre and post war era, when social and economic conditions were radically different, allowing for an examination of changing attitudes

towards town hall construction over a relatively brief period. It was designed by the Edinburgh-based architect David Carr, of Carr & Howard, and is fronted by a comparatively large town square, lined in polychrome precast concrete slabs, with the intended effect of a tartan.

Kirkcaldy's value lies in its uniquely prolonged period of construction, from the immediate pre-World War II period, into the modernist era. As such, it bore witness to the increasing centralisation of municipal services and captures the new reliance on central government approval for large capital projects that was to become a standard feature of town hall building for the rest of the period covered by this thesis. The construction of the building is well-documented through Council minutes, and in particular, through contemporary visual sources including drawings and photographs. Its recent historically-accurate restoration has reinstated much of the previously hidden or destroyed original details, offering a reliable impression of the building when first completed, with a few notable and obvious more modern interventions.

Lanark County Buildings



Figure 33:
Front elevation
of Lanark
County
Buildings.

Source:
Author's
photograph, site
survey, 2
August 2013.

Lanark County Buildings was built from 1957-64 as the administrative home of Lanarkshire County Council, at a time when central government was pursuing an agenda of strengthening regional control at the expense of more localised authority: a huge change in local administration that was manifested in the town halls built during the period. Although the building was designed to service a regional area as distinct from a town or city, it contains all the functional

elements of the town hall without any additions that compromise this likeness to the form of a town hall.

The site, which occupies an entire block of the centre of Hamilton, Lanarkshire, comprises a seventeen storey block with a two storey political wing to its west. It is connected to a pre-existing nineteen thirties administrative building to the east by a glazed corridor, visible to the right of the foreground in Figure 29 above. The modern structures were designed in the International Modern style of the nineteen fifties and early sixties by David G. Bannerman, the County Architect. The tower building is built of reinforced concrete with glass curtain walling, while the political wing's Council Chambers is faced with precast concrete sections. The exterior areas are landscaped in a geometric pattern including a water feature. Its modern style belies a building that contains all of the traditional elements associated with the town hall however, with changes in access – as described in Chapter 2 – providing the main difference to the functioning of the building.

Lanark County Buildings is a key building of twentieth century Scotland. While it has been the subject of some academic research previously, this had been framed within the context of the Modern movement, as opposed to its role within the wider context of urban politics.³⁹ Although its interior has been subject to alteration, its exterior and surrounding greenspaces have remained as built, providing a reliable contemporary source of information on the finishes employed, and the impact on the surrounding urban fabric.

Paisley Civic Centre



Figure 34: Paisley Civic Centre, east elevation. Paisley Abbey is to the centre background, with Renfrew County Council to the right and Paisley Town Council to the left.

Source: Tony Monk, unpublished article for Docomomo, 2013, 1.

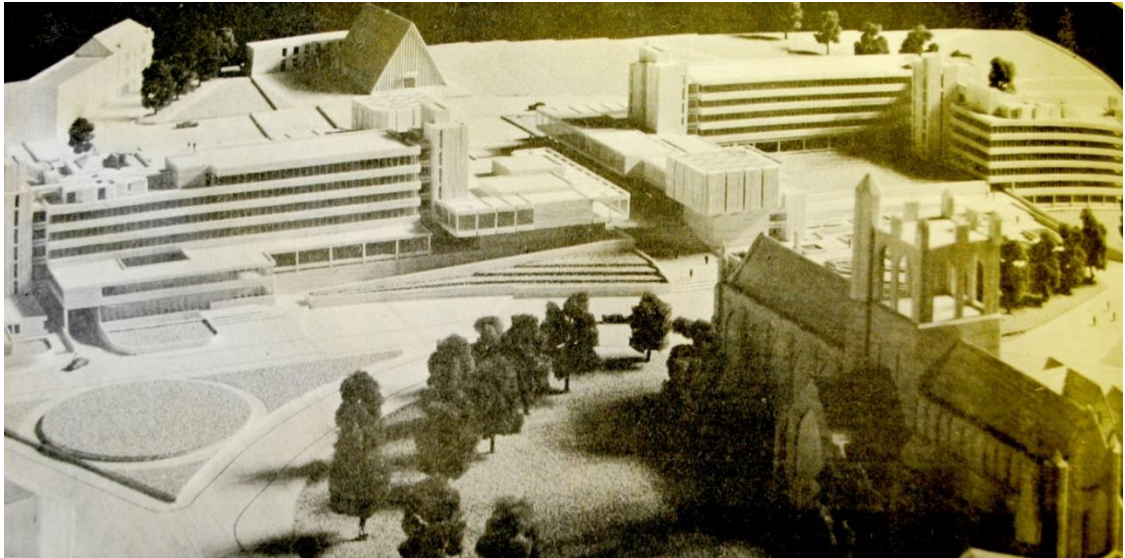


Figure 35: Site model of Paisley Civic Centre, with Paisley Abbey to the right foreground. The Town Council buildings are to the left, neighbouring the County Council offices. The Police Headquarters are not included in this image.

Source: The Scotsman , "Paisley Civic Centre", February 13, 1969, 6.

The Civic Centre at Paisley was designed by the architectural practice of Hutchison, Locke and Monk for a national competition won by them in January 1964. The scheme was begun as central government was considering a radical reorganisation of local government in Scotland, and consequently there was much ambiguity as to the form such buildings should take, leading to a wide variety of entries to the competition that suggest confusion as to its role, as discussed in Chapter 2. It comprised three elements, built in the following order: Paisley Burgh Police Headquarters, Renfrewshire County Council Offices and Paisley Town Council Offices. It was built in three phases, commencing respectively in September 1966, April 1968 and August 1968. All construction was complete by March 1972.⁴⁰

The three buildings were arranged along a roughly north-south axis on a site of nine acres, with Renfrewshire County Council offices occupying the northernmost position, Paisley Town Council in the middle, and the Police Headquarters to the south. The Town and County Council Offices were considered the focus of the

design, and the scheme was developed around their relationship with the Abbey, as shown in Figures 30 & 31 above. This relationship was a means of borrowing the legitimacy of the Abbey for the new construction – a common theme in town halls and one that is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

The Civic Centre, as a set of structures which partnered Paisley Town Council with Renfrewshire Council on the same site, provides the rare opportunity to consider the relationship between two different forms of non-central government in a town dealing with the legacy of unprecedented economic development in steep decline. Tony Monk, who was one of the architects of Paisley Civic Centre, agreed to be interviewed for the purposes of this dissertation, providing an evidence source unavailable for any of the other case studies, and increasingly unusual for buildings of this age. In addition, Paisley local history library provided a wealth of newspaper sources for assessing the impact of the Civic Centre on the citizens.

The six buildings outlined above cover the major points of change and development in the politics of Scottish urban history during the period 1833-1975, as outlined in further detail below. The equivalent amounts of research materials available for each building has allowed similar levels of investigation into their history and development, ensuring an equal basis for analysis and comparison. Their representativeness of Scottish town halls can be judged from the context of the 168 town halls documented as part of the survey carried out for this thesis.

7 Themes

The research that follows seeks to examine how town halls functioned as a resolution of political, social and economic conflict over the period 1833-1973 in Scotland, through the themes of function, power, historical appropriation and ritual within local authorities over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Certain questions can be asked under each of these themes to elucidate the characteristics of their expression and so chart the development of local government over the course of 140 years.

Chapter 2 defines the nature of civic space, and looks at how town halls work in this capacity as an agent of change, through tracking the development in the functions they support, and how that impacts on their ability to offer a space that is truly civic in nature. The alignment with functional choices in town hall

design and broader trends is examined to identify if the events surrounding the construction of town halls can be seen as a reflection of United Kingdom-wide political change in microcosm.

As noted in the introductory section to this Chapter, power is an underlying theme across all ideas associated with town halls. Chapter 3 looks at the main facets of its expression and function, and how they inform the transition and confirmation between old and new local governmental control.

In Chapter 4, the use of history to provide legitimacy to local government is examined. Like civic space, the nature of its use changes over time, from the dramatic appropriation of contemporary events and symbols in the late 1800s to the wholesale abandonment of the past in the mid to later years of the twentieth century.

The changing role of ritual in supporting the rule of the local authority is discussed in Chapter 5. Forms of location-based and dynamic ritual are interrogated for their effect in helping to redraw the town to include the new building as their primary civic space. How the spaces created for ritual by furnishings and internal layout impact on the performance of ritual is also examined. What chambers impart about the will to include the citizen in the politics is also considered, as part of the broader investigation into how town halls reflect political change more broadly.

These questions and others are posed over the course of the following chapters, in order to create a body of evidence that defines the role of the town hall in presenting and defining local authority in Scotland over the period, within the context of wider political and social change. This leads to conclusions as to the nature of locally-based democracy and how it is reflected in built form.

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³⁰ The distinction between Britain and the United Kingdom is important to note in this context: Ireland's economic and governmental development was not on a par with that experienced in the rest of the United Kingdom during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and did not match its sister nations in terms of the explosion of local government and urban growth. The building of town halls during the period was infrequent and cannot be used for comparison here.

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³⁶Brian Finnimore, *Houses from the Factory: System Building and the Welfarestate 1942–74* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1989); Gary Hassan, "Anatomy of the New Scotland: Power, Influence and Change", *Anatomy of the New Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2002), 15.

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Chapter 2 – The Town Hall as a Civic Space: Changes in Access and Administration

Contents

1	Introduction	54
2	The Changing Function of Town Halls: An Overview	54
3	Theories of Civic Space.....	58
4	Burntisland Town Hall: Functional Cleansing and Clarity of Arrangement ..	65
5	Renfrew Town Hall: Defining Urban Society.....	71
6	Dundee City Chambers: The Privatisation of Public Space	78
7	Kirkcaldy Town House: The Appearance of Openness and a Burgeoning Social Conscience	82
8	Lanark County Buildings: The Triumph of Administration	88
9	Paisley Civic Centre: The Town Hall Transforms.....	97
10	Conclusions	102

1 Introduction

Fundamental to our understanding of the town hall is that it is a civic space: a place where the people of a town can go to engage in civic and political affairs of governance, participate in a series of negotiated ritual processes and - commonly but not always - enjoy social occasions. This idea is replete with assumptions of access and functionality, the nature of which fluctuate over time. Both attributes operate within degrees of segregation and hierarchy, restricting the extent of entry available to some citizens while encouraging full access to others. This raises questions as to the ability of the town hall to act as a civic space within the meaning of a universally accessible arena.

This chapter defines the nature of the town hall as a civic space, a key property of which is the availability of access. It provides an overview of the functions supported by town halls during the period under study to support an understanding of the breadth of their role within their locality.

The narrative then moves on to detail how each of the case study town halls functions as a civic space, through an examination of the two key attributes of access and function. It tracks the changes in emphasis within the functions supported by the buildings examined, and comments on how these relate to the access of the citizens to the space. The changing expectations of the buildings' operation are noted as part of a general shift away from town halls' functioning as public spaces entrenched in local society, towards a more private administrative office of national legislation.

2 The Changing Function of Town Halls: An Overview

Town halls came into being with the development of local and regional government in the Middle Ages. In Scotland, from the twelfth century onwards, the Town House or Tollbooth – the terms were largely interchangeable at the time – provided the functions of levying tolls, collecting customs, holding markets and jailing criminals or debtors, as well as providing space for local administrative meetings and courts.¹ This was the case across Europe, where similar structures with a focus on commercial and legal matters were constructed in the early local economies of Italy, Germany and Belgium.² As a general rule, they comprised retail facilities – either or both of a market hall and shops – to the ground floor, with a hall to the first floor that served as both local authority meeting space and court house, as well as a small number of associated offices. They might also have a second or attic floor for the police or

a caretaker, as well as jail cells to the basement. In England, it was particularly common for the early town hall to be identifiable by its arched openings. In Scotland, tollbooths often had a single or double external forestair leading directly to the first floor. Town halls elsewhere frequently included a balcony to the centre of their front elevation to allow for public pronouncements from a height to the citizenry.

Across Europe, a bell tower was an essential element of the functioning of a town hall. The bell was rung to mark public events such as council meetings, markets, church services and the rising of curfews. This created a sense of shared purpose and group activity within urban society, in a period before the creation of other civic architecture and cheap print media could reinforce that message in a more tangible way.

Early town halls were located at the central market area, underlining their retail function. In Scotland, they were usually positioned in close proximity to the mercat (market) cross - whose function as the town's central point for retail they were built to usurp, such as the 1867 Aberdeen Town House by Peddie and Kinnear. This situation allowed for the ready transition of legitimacy of function from the cross to the town hall; similar borrowings of structural legitimacy are a common feature throughout the history of town halls, as is discussed in Chapter 4.

By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the form of town halls had developed to become a larger structure with spaces that allowed for public entertainment, and a greater need for the display of wealth was expressed through the use of expensive materials for decoration. In Scotland, clocks were by this time considered an obligation for every burgh constructing such a building, and in addition to the bell tower, cemented the role of the town hall as the defining building of control for the town.³

In the same period in the United States of America, town halls – also known there as town houses, perhaps as an inheritance from Scottish immigrants – were beginning to be constructed, to provide a separation of function from the meeting house; the first building of the early settlers and one with a primarily religious function. Town houses there differed from their European counterparts in having no retail function or raised external area for pronouncements, although they did have first floor halls and a bell tower, often with a clock.⁴

The functional purification of the European town hall that began with the separation of the courthouse from the mid eighteenth century onwards continued over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as retail functions were also gradually phased out. The reason for this is based in wider societal and political changes that took place. Firstly, the administrative burdens on local government in the second half of the nineteenth century increased the need for office space within town halls exponentially, so that it was no longer practicable to house functions that were not directly relevant to the functioning of local government within the same building. The expansion of services was further dealt with by the construction of a new enlarged town hall, extending the existing building, or by housing administrative services in another building entirely, of more modest design and without any of the ceremonial function.

The second reason for functional purification related to public taste and opinion. The original mercantile basis of local government began to be seen as distasteful, as the middle classes began to move away from the centre of towns and into the suburbs. While in 1843, retail premises were given pride of place in the design of Burntisland town hall, by 1932 local councillors in Dundee were demanding to know of their officers "if they knew of any other city or town, even half the size of Dundee, that had municipal chambers with an entrance to the council chamber and committee rooms between shops", the implication being that such a functional association was detrimental to the dignity of the local authority.⁵

The change in the appropriateness of retail functions within the town hall was related to a bigger alteration in the perception of the nature of local government, which was reflected in the mushrooming of other forms of civic architecture. With the expansion of its services beyond those of merely rates collection and law and order into a broader role including education, sanitation, health, care of the elderly and roads maintenance, to name but a few, there came a different set of expectations about the role of local government in the local community. By the 1890s and continuing up until World War I, it was appropriate for councils to build galleries, museums, schools, baths houses, almshouses and libraries as part of their service delivery, where before their involvement in such construction had been ad hoc and in response to specifically local conditions of need and patronage.

Such buildings were often built in a similar style, and in a particular material: in Glasgow, for example, City Architect and Engineer Alexander Beith McDonald

oversaw the construction of 7 police stations, 3 hospitals, 10 bath houses, 6 parks and 4 public halls, as well as countless tenement blocks and sewerage treatment plants over the course of his 24 year career for Glasgow Corporation from 1890-1914. He was also responsible for other Glasgow landmarks, such as the People's Palace on Glasgow Green, the McLellan Art Gallery and the layout of Cathedral Square.⁶ McDonald's buildings, and those designed under his auspices, were all designed in Edwardian Baroque, dressed up or restrained as befitted the building's function, the majority constructed in red sandstone. Taken together, they created a civic skeleton, instantly recognisable then as now to local residents as buildings of the Corporation.

In the early years of the twentieth century, civic architecture took on a much broader administrative function than had been the case previously, mirroring central government's redefinition of the scope and extent of the services local authorities should provide. The buildings that resulted defined that change in function in physical terms, and encouraged citizens to change their perception of local government from being mainly concerned with the economic development and policing of the town, to a more paternalistic body with a comprehensive remit to encourage the well-being of its residents.

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As has been discussed in Chapter 1, following the World Wars, there was a drawing back from the provision of such comprehensive and geographically-spread programmes of civic architecture as had been pursued in Glasgow. The focus of national and local government was now in the construction of housing and roads to serve the ambitions of the modern age. Civic architecture could now mean the construction of shopping centres, such as at Paisley, the construction of a whole new town's central precinct complete with buildings and open spaces, such as at East Kilbride, or a Civic Centre, designed to house the primary civic functions within one complex. At towns such as Motherwell, in Scotland's central industrial belt, these vast complexes held not only the political

and administrative functions of the Council, but also a theatre, library, and at a safe remove from the political function, a small cluster of shops. Peter Larkham has produced a useful diagram charting the spatial expansion of civic centres as opposed to their town hall forerunners, which shows clearly the ambitions of twentieth century councillors and functionaries.⁷ Instead of providing a proliferation of standalone facilities at different locations throughout the town, all civic functions of the council could be meted out from a central building. Where the nineteenth and early twentieth century standalone structures were small in stature, as befitted the delivery of a single function, civic centres were often perceptually amorphous, which meant that citizens struggled to get a sense of the extents of the built complex across a very large estate. The localised personality of the town library, art gallery or baths could sometimes be lost within an all-consuming council brand of civic cultural and social institutions.

In contrast to the increasingly unified branding of Council-run organisations, local decision power was on the wane. The National Health Service and the 1945 Planning Act had brought national government into local politics, reducing local policy-making powers considerably, in a trend that would only continue throughout the twentieth century.

By the end of the period under examination, civic architecture had altered beyond recognition. The small, locally-distinct town houses built by the burghers in the early years of the nineteenth century for collecting taxes and jailing the disruptive had become vast complexes of social and cultural civic function, out of scale with the surrounding environment and suggesting physically an increased level of local control, when in fact the possibility of strategic decision making at urban level had been heavily compromised. As a civic space, the town hall now operated in a very different way to its predecessors.

The following sections track the changing function of town halls over the course of a century, as their civic role gradually altered during the period that saw the emergence and retraction of local government.

3 Theories of Civic Space

A large number of theories have been developed by anthropologists, sociologists, geographers and urban historians as to what consists of civic space, and what are the key messages it imparts.⁸ Below is a summary of how town

halls can be defined with the wider concept of civic space, and an analysis of how and what they communicate to the citizens of the town.

Charles Goodsell's *The Social Meaning of Civic Space* remains the most comprehensive study on how buildings of public administration act as civic spaces, although his study is limited to internal spaces only. His examination, which involved a detailed observation of the internal layout and design of chambers from 1865-1980 in the United States of America, has parallels for the town halls considered as part of this research. Similarly, his theoretical research context is applicable more broadly.

Goodsell assumes that the town hall is understood as a civic space. He describes them as a "durable readout of common tendencies in political life prevailing at the time of construction", which he interprets as the shared values of political regimes. He theorises that "such spaces and the objects within them become what might be thought of as a nonverbal commentary about people, politics, culture, and conciliation".⁹ Thus, town halls reveal information about the societies that built them in terms of their internal power structure, their relationships with external holders of power, their citizens and the broader context.

He describes the town hall as governed by four main characteristics:

1. Ownership or control by the state or by agents of the State (in the case of Scotland, by the Burgh Council or national government)
2. Accessibility to outsiders
3. Function
4. Degree of enclosure

The degree of enclosure is a concern of style and best interrogated by a more in-depth summary than serves the overarching themes of this thesis. The more strategic aspects of accessibility and function are of particular interest in assessing how town halls operate as civic spaces, and are the subject of this chapter.

The Town Hall as a Spatial Construct

The town hall can be considered as a subset of larger concepts of space that are publically accessible, as shown below:

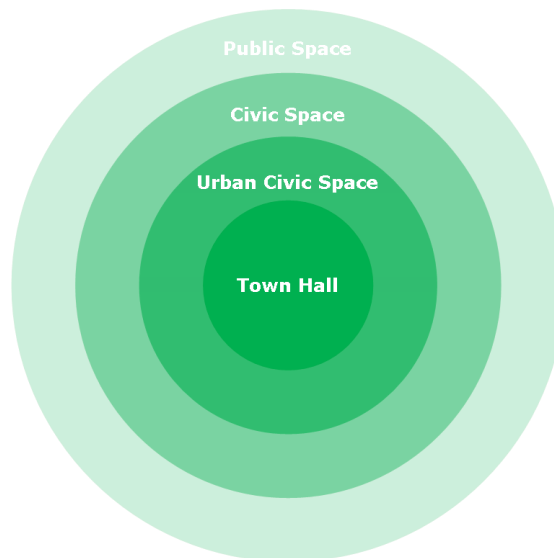


Figure 1: The town hall as a constituent of public space.

Source: Author's diagram.

Each concept is examined below.

Public Space

Peter Goheen suggests that public space is characterised by its accessibility: the entire population of an area can assume a right of access to such spaces without discrimination.¹⁰ This may be seen to be at odds with the concept of a town hall: as demonstrated in the analysis below, not all citizens were welcomed into all areas of the town hall; however, citizens would have assumed right of access to at least the administrative elements of the building for carrying out Burgh-related tasks such as paying tolls and rates, applying for licenses and other day to day interactions. This allows town halls to be interpreted as a public space.

Andy Croll notes that public space is also governed by a set of commonly-accepted behaviours, ranging from those enforced by local government, such as laws on public intoxication and cleansing, to those that have arisen through the use of the space, such as moderating the sound of one's voice, conducting business in a formal manner, or displaying a degree of deference to those encountered, whether Councillors or Officers. Those rules not enforced by the municipal authority arise from what Croll describes as a "shared process leading to shared public meanings".¹¹ As Goheen notes, "a widely shared appreciation of what is expected and acceptable to this particular place arises from the historical process of adjudicating the multiplicity of claims to the enjoyment of the same public space".¹² In other words, what is acceptable behaviour within

the space is the result of a period of negotiation between users. It follows that this process helps define the potential uses of the space: functions that are outside the culturally-accepted norms of the space are discouraged not only through direct edicts but also through the known and accepted practices of the town. The potential uses of the town hall are the product – conscious or otherwise- of negotiation between the town and its government.

Civic Space

While the uses of a public space may be viewed as a dialogue, what differentiates a civic space is ownership. Goheen suggests that civic space is that owned and entirely controlled by those in local government, whereas public space does not hold the same clarity of possession.¹³

Edward Shils suggests that civic space, like public space, is governed by a central zone of values and beliefs, but that when the space is civic, this zone, which Clifford Geertz refers to as the “sacred center [sic]”, becomes the source of legitimate authority.¹⁴

Urban Civic Space

Urban civic space refers to commons that are within a dense urban setting, as opposed to spaces such as parks and municipal graveyards, where there is not the same sense of enclosure from the built environment. Urban civic space is viewed by the inhabitants of the town as the place where their collective right to performance and speech are entrenched – as opposed to that of the town hall, where the right to perform is strictly controlled by those with authority over the space.¹⁵

Town Hall

The town hall is the most controlled of all spaces that can be considered as public space. Access to the town hall is, as discussed above, available to all those who need to interact with the corporate function, but is much more restricted in relation to its primary spaces, the Council Chambers and Banqueting Hall. In both cases, the spaces are commonly deep within the building and/or accessible only by means of passing through various checkpoints of guarded access. This provides an imbalance in terms of its ownership: most town halls were, to a greater or lesser extent, paid for by the rate payer, which might suggest all those who pay rates have ownership rights over spatial access, as is commonly the case with private space. However, contributing to the

purchase of a town hall does not provide such a guarantee. Full access was limited on the basis of social class, and extended to those who might not necessarily be rate payers. This points to a fundamental difference between the town hall and other forms of public space, where a more democratic regime of access is followed. As Arnade, Howell and Simons have noted, spaces can contain and bequeath privilege.¹⁶ Through uncompromised access to the town hall, one could control the town's political and social arena.

The naming of the town hall as such was also an important distinction between it and less formalised public space. Bourdieu reflects that naming is significant in creating a form of power over things and people. The name 'town hall' reflects the authority that lay behind its construction and stamps that authority on the landscape, map and collective consciousness of the town.¹⁷ Other civic spaces may also be named to formalise that authority and reference even greater sources of power: in Scotland, one often finds a Union Street or Victoria Road in close proximity to the town hall, as in Aberdeen or Inverness for example, creating a web of civic spaces that refer to sources of government, with the town hall as their central feature and the embodiment of the power suggested by the names. Several authors reflect on how town halls are part of a wider network of civic buildings, with particular reference to the Victorian era, when civic culture, as expressed by town halls, libraries, art galleries and museums, was central to the development of identity and image, both of the town and its people. Placed within this context of buildings, town halls were presented as 'glorious, honourable and noble . . . inextricably linked with magnificent and lasting architecture and civic virtue'.¹⁸ Town halls and the other buildings comprising civic culture were also part of a wider network that Stobart refers to as "genteel space" of a distinct socio-spatial identity: which included churches, shops, and places of entertainment. These made the town hall a part of the urban landscape that testified to middle class values and helped to create the nineteenth century town in their own image.¹⁹

This process is aided by the foundation stone laying and opening ceremonies, where the local network of civic spaces forms a route towards the culminating point of the town hall, transferring the values of the external public civic space to the new town hall ceremonially, as discussed in Chapter 5. The all-encompassing nature of such ceremonies, which involved the entire town in a mass celebration, ensured their unconscious approval for this transfer of civic values from the open public space to the access-controlled town hall.

Such a shift of values from the public to the private can be seen more broadly in the second half of the nineteenth century. As discussed above, the town halls that were built prior to the nineteenth century tended to be multi-functional, often containing a market hall to their ground floor, with a jail, a court, stables and retail premises common add-ons to the scheme. Their multi-functional nature invited widespread engagement with the populace, while their retail and jail elements ensured a degree of outward focus that was lost over the course of the nineteenth century. Towards the later 1800s, however, town halls became more restricted in their function and in the nature of access that could be gained. In addition, the increase in ritual associated with the buildings discouraged the easy intercourse of their eighteenth century counterparts, as is discussed in Chapter 5 in relation to Dundee City Chambers. Francois Bedarida and Anthony Sutcliffe ascribe this change, which was felt more broadly in society, to "the progress of individualism and the modern idea of intimacy, under the influence of bourgeois romanticism".²⁰ The growth and expansion of town halls can be read in part to have been influenced by a need to create a distinctly civic space, designated for civic purposes only, and offering a degree of enclosure that fitted with the new need for privacy.

Like all buildings, town halls communicate ideas with those who have knowledge of them, from looking at an image of them to being a daily participant in events contained within them. Lefebvre theorises about how the communication of such spaces is on a number of levels: "a mixture of apprehension, experience and reification that establishes connections between the material and the discursive, the physical and the ideological, and the experienced and the imagined".²¹ This can be applied to the town hall in both in terms of the building as a whole and its principal spaces: the Council Chambers and the Banqueting Hall. The Chambers is both a physical space for the practice of politics, embodies the idea of the politics through its highly formal architectural language and finishes, and is remembered as the site of previous political experiences. Similarly, the Banqueting Hall is known as a place of banquets and entertainments, indicates a sense of celebration through its luxurious decoration, and through its usage over time becomes imbued with the remembrances of past entertainments in the space. Together, they form a network of communication between those of the community who access the space, making the town hall a kind of cultural memory bank, collecting community values and collective memories.²² As Hilda Kuper suggests, it is important to note that the use of such facilities was not made available to all within the community: there was strict management of who might use spaces by those governing the town hall's use. This ensured a

particular type of cultural creation in line with the values and aspirations of those in local government, creating an 'us' and 'them' mentality between those who were included and excluded. Such processes, as Kuper remarks, made the town hall an indicator of the social relations within the town.²³

The building as a whole is a summary of these methods of communication; its physical presence represents the experience of the building on multiple levels, each personal and distinct to the viewer. As well as the message of power – to be discussed in Chapter 3 – the town hall functions to promote the message of superiority and civic values.

The profusion of ornament within the town hall with its contextually-lavish decorative schemes, expensive materials and elaborate fixtures can be viewed as a means of elevating what happened within the town hall above the mundane usual activities of politics that happened in the rest of the building: Ben-Amos suggests such theatricality could create a sacred environment, that was visually separated from the simpler environments that could be found in the other parts of the town. Such environments give an "emotional effect, comparable to the power of rhetoric", to the voice of authority, adding drama and weight to the events therein, and creating an effective stage setting for important political activities and conflicts.²⁴

Ben-Amos also indicates that the design of the town hall was also a means of inculcating in the citizens the civic values of the constructing authority: at Burntisland, for example, the new town hall exhibited a new sense of order, tidiness, regularity that was entirely missing from its predecessor; at Renfrew, the town hall expresses the town council as prosperous, wealthy, regionally significant, and competent, and finally, at Paisley Civic Centre, the buildings present the Council as forward-thinking, modern, externally-focussed, and engaged with the economy at a national level.²⁵

Through its often similar architecture, civic culture provided a form of branding for the town, through which the town's identity developed an awareness of self and other, communicating the elite's power and worth to elite groups in other towns who might visit the town or participate in its foundation stone laying or opening ceremonies: a crucial part of place identity and promotion.²⁶

The town hall can be viewed as at the extreme end of what might be considered public space, given the constraints on both its access and also on the freedom of expression one might expect from a less enclosed arena. Balanced against this is

its desired role as a civic space, defined as a place where the values and culture of the town were constructed and perpetuated, albeit by the middle and upper classes who were allowed access to all its spaces. For those outside the well-to-do spectrum of society, the town hall represented an exclusion from engagement in civic activity and the clear definition of social divisions within their town.

For all citizens, the building was a place for the representation of civic concerns, where common grievances could be heard in a public arena and where, to a greater or lesser extent, democracy was served by due process. As is demonstrated in the following sections, this function was at the heart of the idea of the town hall until the end of the period under study.

4 Burntisland Town Hall: Functional Cleansing and Clarity of Arrangement

Burntisland Town Hall, built in the mid-nineteenth century and thus the earliest example of a civic space examined for this thesis, is a useful counterpoint for comparison with the proceeding eighteenth century Town House in terms of its provision as a civic space. By comparing the arrangement with that of the previous facility, the development of the building type in terms of accessibility and functionality from the pre-Reform eighteenth century to the beginning of modern local government in the nineteenth century can be tracked.

Burntisland is a small town on the northern shore of the Firth of Forth. The town has had a civic conscience in the form of self-government for a considerable time, having been recognised as a Royal Burgh in 1541 by James V. It was also a substantial maritime industrial base from medieval times onwards.

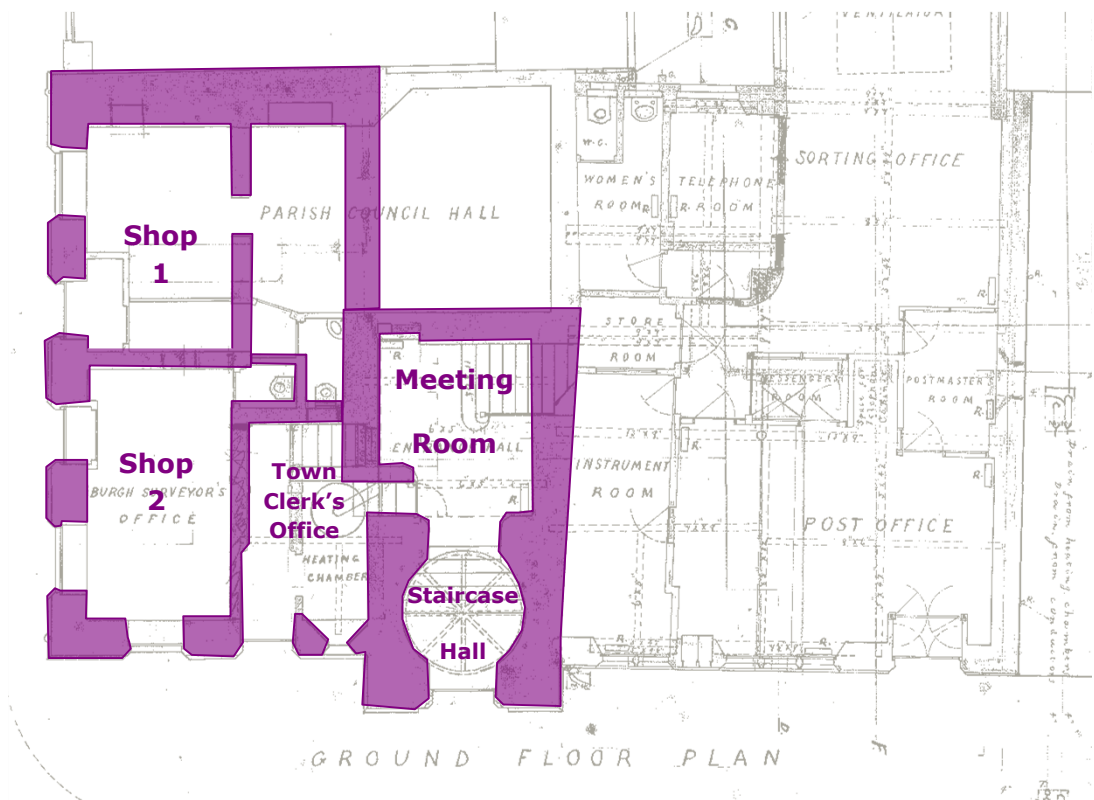
For hundreds of years, the town was a major trading port on the Forth, and operated as a destination for East Coast fisheries as well as boats from the Netherlands before the Act of Union moved trade elsewhere. By 1755, the population was 1390, rising to 2100 by 1835.²⁷ Unusually for an area outside the major cities of Scotland, Burntisland was recorded as having almost three times as many families employed in industry as opposed to agriculture by that period, indicating the strength of its water-based economy. It was a thriving urbanised community by the early years of the nineteenth century.

By the 1830s, it had become a place of strong civic sentiment: a burgh school was paid for by the Burgh Council, which took in a number of poor children as well as fee-paying students, and was one of six other schools within the parish. There were two libraries with 900 books between them, and the number of churches was rapidly growing.²⁸ In addition, the Town House included space for debtors, and when discussing the design of the building in 1845, it was proposed by the Burgh Council to include a House of Refuge in the new Town Hall.²⁹

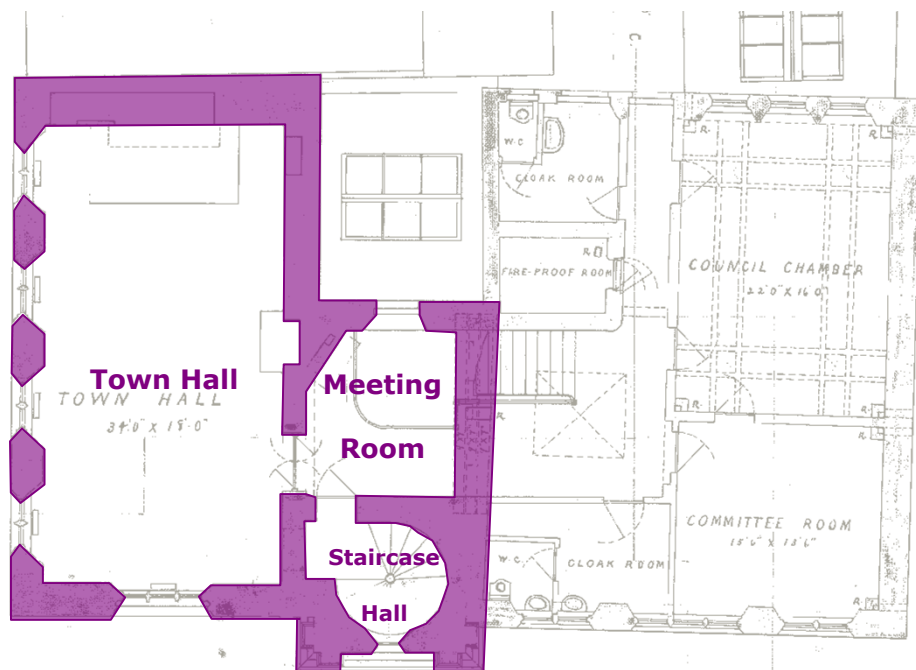
The new building, completed in 1846 was a sanitised version of its eighteenth century predecessor, containing only the more salubrious functions of the Town House. James Speed, an early nineteenth century historian of Burntisland who also served as its Provost from 1837 to 1840, described the earlier Town House as follows: "On the first floor of the tower were wretched cells for criminal prisoners, and two small rooms above for debtors – places in which no human being could long retain health of either mind or body."³⁰

The old building's external appearance, as recorded by Andrew Young and reproduced as Figure 26 in Chapter 4, supports this description of the building having small spaces, a lack of windows, an irregular layout and an unpolished finish.

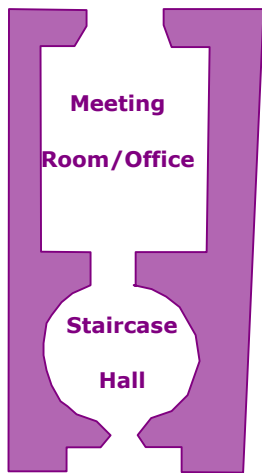
By contrast, the new town hall was regularly laid out and its generous fenestration was symmetrically planned, as is discussed in Chapter 4. Below is an approximation of the original layout, using as its basis the plans prepared for the extension of the building in 1901.



Above: Ground Floor Plan of Burntisland Town Hall (1846), overlaid on 1901 extension plans.



Above: First Floor Plan of Burntisland Town Hall, overlaid on 1901 extension plans.



Left: Second Floor Plan of Burntisland Town Hall

Figures 2-4: Speculative 1846 layout of Burntisland Town Hall: ground, first and second floors.

Source: Author's site survey and 1901 Extension plans, Collection of Fife Council.

One notes the regular sequencing of spaces off the central spiral staircase, each lit by generous windows. Although the Clerk's office and meeting rooms are small, there are no overly-cramped spaces that could be termed unhealthy, as at the Town House. The building is easily navigable, and progression is obviously signposted through the logical arrangement of spaces. This contrasts with the more opaque arrangement of the Town House we can intimate through Young's painting, when functional clarity was not a necessity because the majority of those entering the building were either Burghers of long standing, or those entering the cells, and who would be guided to their destination by gaolers.

The new Town Hall's more regular plan allowed for easy movement through the spaces, but also for a more formal interpretation of the nature of spaces suggested by the symmetrical proportions and straight lines of the plan form. This in turn would have encouraged a more formal response from those visiting and using the building: it was no longer a place for the casual intercourse one might imagine in the more relaxed layout of the Town House, whose interior was likely to have been similar to Dundee Town House's informality, recorded in Figures 10 and 11 in Chapter 5. It also reflects a growing sense of outward focus: with the development of the town's industry, those visiting the Town Hall would not always be familiar with the building and its layout. They would need enough unconscious cues to intuit their way to spaces, and a more formal and regularised layout would help with this process.

The clarity of plan of the Town Hall also brought with it a new separation of function. In the eighteenth century Town House, access to the hall was likely to have been from a shared staircase that also led to the prisoners' and debtors' cells. Speed recorded that "A large hall and a court and council room occupied the west part of the building", and there is no mention of a dedicated stair to access these areas.³¹ Entrance to this shared staircase would have been via the forestair shown in the Young painting; which steps also gave to the stores and the retail premises within the Town House. The Burghers were thus in close contact with every element of their administration whenever they accessed the Town House.

In the nineteenth century Town Hall, however, the need for separation between the administrative and other functions is clear. The Town Hall is entered through its own, dedicated staircase, the external door to which is advanced from the ground floor of the front elevation: a feature which puts the political function physically before others and allows it to be more fully decorated as an indicator of status. The access to the retail premises is kept to the other elevation, as far as possible from the political function. Internally, although there is a connecting door between what is presumed to be the town clerk's office and the ground floor meeting room of the Town Hall, the clerk's office is at a lower level: he must ascend to be part of the political function. The staircase can be read as an early iteration of the Councillor's Staircase seen in larger town halls later in the century, such as Glasgow City Chambers and Aberdeen Town Hall, where those involved in the political process are rewarded with a particularly grand means of access to the space of government.

Although the arrangements of the Town House and the Town Hall indicate a changing understanding of how local government should operate spatially, the Burgh Council's preferences for its occupation show a continuity of understanding in its proposed function.

The Georgian Town House included not only cells for prisoners and debtors, as recorded by Speed, but also had seven small premises for local retailers, as well as a hall and a court and council room.³² The Burgh Council wished to have a similar mixture of functions within their new building, but were persuaded not to by their architect. In January 1845, the town hall's architect John Henderson wrote to the Burgh Council about the proposed plan and noted "The cellar for Town stores, and the room for lodging vagrants as a house of refuge are not

included. Indeed I have some doubt of the propriety of introducing the House of Refuge.”³³

However, two shops were included in the ground floor, significantly larger than those that would have been available in the Town House, which suggests that the design was to attract a wealthier class of tenant than the bakers, brewers and butchers who had rented the previous premises.³⁴

The issue of propriety surrounding the Town Hall must have gained some traction with the Building Committee however, as they negotiated to buy and relocate the neighbouring slaughterhouse located behind the Town Hall early on in the process, Henderson having indicated that its odours might not be conducive to the functioning of local government.³⁵ Given the sights and smells that were likely to have been a symptom of the old Town House’s location by the docks, the purchase of the slaughterhouse indicates a new desire to keep the Burgh Council’s functioning as physically separate as possible from the everyday elements of town life.

The functional design of the new town hall demonstrates the growing desire to separate the political work of the Burgh Council from the day-to-day workings of the economy. Although the Council were led in this by their architect, they accepted his suggestions and took action to support his vision through the functional sanitising of the surrounding area.

Through the elements of separation designed into the layout, the political function is cleansed of its association with industry, management of the poor and destitute, and the imprisonment of criminals. Instead the building supports a purity of function that elevates the town hall from the humdrum of subsistence economics towards a performance of the more abstract idea of good governance.

Not even the potential for social function was allowed to disturb this. It is clear the building was not intended for such gatherings – there is no mention of a social use as part of what was briefed to the architect Henderson, and there was no provision for a ladies’ retiring room, which would have been viewed as essential. The social focus of the town was provided by the distillery-owning Youngs, who built a music hall at the north-east end of the town which opened in 1846 and was later gifted to the town. This contrasts with the ubiquitous provision of banqueting halls that were commonly designed into town halls within twenty years of the completion of Burntisland Town Hall.

Burntisland Town Hall exhibits the first signs of later preoccupations of town hall designers with enabling themed entry to particular spaces, and creating a hierarchy of access and segregation that matched expectations as to who would be the primary users of the spaces. Alongside this spatial purification was functional purification. Matching the newly-formal quality of the physical environment of the town hall were limits on the types of uses that were suitable neighbours to uphold the dignity and status of the town hall. Only certain uses were deemed "civic" enough to be awarded adjacencies to the building, and these did not yet include a banqueting hall, which was not considered an essential part of the civic functioning of the building. The town hall was considerably more outward-focused than had been the previous Town House; the regularity of plan providing an ease of wayfinding for the visiting merchant that was entirely missing from its predecessor. The civic space, while limited functionally, was more accessible than such buildings had been before.

5 Renfrew Town Hall: Defining Urban Society

Similar to Burntisland, Renfrew had a modest seventeenth century town house until the middle years of the nineteenth century. Unlike Burntisland, Renfrew's town house was demolished not to facilitate economic progress, but instead to meet a more expanded view of the kind of civic space that should be provided by a town hall, concurrent with the spirit of optimism that defined the latter half of the nineteenth century's local government in Scotland. A town hall was now understood to mean a place of community gathering, both internally and externally, with the themes of segregation and hierarchy of access increasingly heightened.

The extent of functions that could be contained within the envelope of the town hall had been greatly expanded in the Victorian period, and continued to be so into the Edwardian era. At Clydebank Town Hall, designed by James Miller and opened in 1900, for example, the town hall now included not only the usual chambers, banqueting hall and administrative spaces, but also a Lesser Hall, police department, public baths, fire station with firemen's dwellings, and library. The very large building, as shown below, serviced all these uses through a complex series of seven accesses across its two primary elevations, designed to indicate non-verbal cues as to who should enter each space and for what purpose.



Figure 5: Clydebank Town Hall, designed in 1900. The tower corner anchors the two primary elevations.

Source:

[http://www.west-](http://www.west-dunbarton.gov.uk/leisure-parks-events/clydebank-town-hall/)

[dunbarton.gov.uk/leisure-parks-events/clydebank-town-hall/](http://www.west-dunbarton.gov.uk/leisure-parks-events/clydebank-town-hall/), accessed June 14, 2016.

At Renfrew, the old Town Hall that was extant in the late nineteenth century had been erected in 1670, and was extended in 1826 to provide a hall space on the upper floor and a Council Chamber on the ground floor.³⁶ Minutes from the Improvement Committee suggest that it was also the residence of some of the police officers as well as the hall keepers.³⁷

Despite accommodating 300-400 people, the hall space was viewed in 1872 as “very inadequate for any large public meeting or entertainment, and it was besides uncomfortable”.³⁸ The Chambers was also considered inadequate, and the Commissioners of the Peace had threatened in the same year to stop holding their meetings in the building as a result. The spaces did not meet the enlarged aspirations of the Council or those associated with it, despite having proved adequate for the previous hundred years.

The building’s modest appearance, and in particular its tower, had also formed part of the reasoning for its demolition, as it no longer matched Renfrew’s self-image of a prosperous, modern town.



Figure 6: Renfrew old Town Hall, originally constructed in 1670, with a major extension in 1826.

Source: Drawing from a photograph taken in 1872 before demolition, Collection of Paisley Local History Library.

As can be seen from the drawing of the old Town Hall above, it was indeed a simple building, typical for seventeenth and eighteenth century town houses in Scotland, with its

forestair leading to the upper ground floor, its retail premises at street level and its squat onion-domed tower. The building has decorative detailing to the front elevation, with little attention paid to dressing the gable end. There are no signs of entry or egress points to this side elevation and maps show it was attached to another property on the other side. This indicates the intention of the designer for the building to be accessed publicly solely through the main street front, in contrast with the later Town Hall's multiple entry points, as discussed below.

However modest the structure, the old Town Hall provided all the elements considered necessary for the town of Renfrew. When the new building was completed in 1873, all the functions of the previous building were repeated: the social functions were carried through in the enlarged town hall, the Council Chamber was replicated, the police continued to have their cells and offices in the building, and even the commercial element was maintained by the location of a bank within the building. Where the new building differed was in the bombast of its architectural detailing and in the focus on creating spaces that were suitably grand, responding to the greater need for an obviously civic-focussed building. When newly constructed, the building was described as decorated in an "elaborate style", "a work of art, and . . . most profusely ornamented."³⁹

The clutter that could result from having so many uses within an admittedly small footprint was tackled in a way replicated throughout nineteenth century town halls: by having multiple different entry points to the building, discreet to

the function being accessed. As can be seen from the plans reproduced below, there were five different entrances to Renfrew Town Hall, each heralding a different type of use.

The plans marked in red below are overlays on the current plans of the building held by Renfrewshire Council. The forms shown are based on the collection of a range of information. A survey of the remaining fabric was carried out, and information regarding wall thicknesses was transposed on the current plans of the town hall to indicate the likely remaining historic fabric. This was cross-referenced with newspaper accounts detailing the main rooms and interconnections within the building, as well as the author's existing knowledge of the likely layout of a late nineteenth century town hall. Along with contemporary photographic images and drawings, the resulting data was used to build the illustrations below.

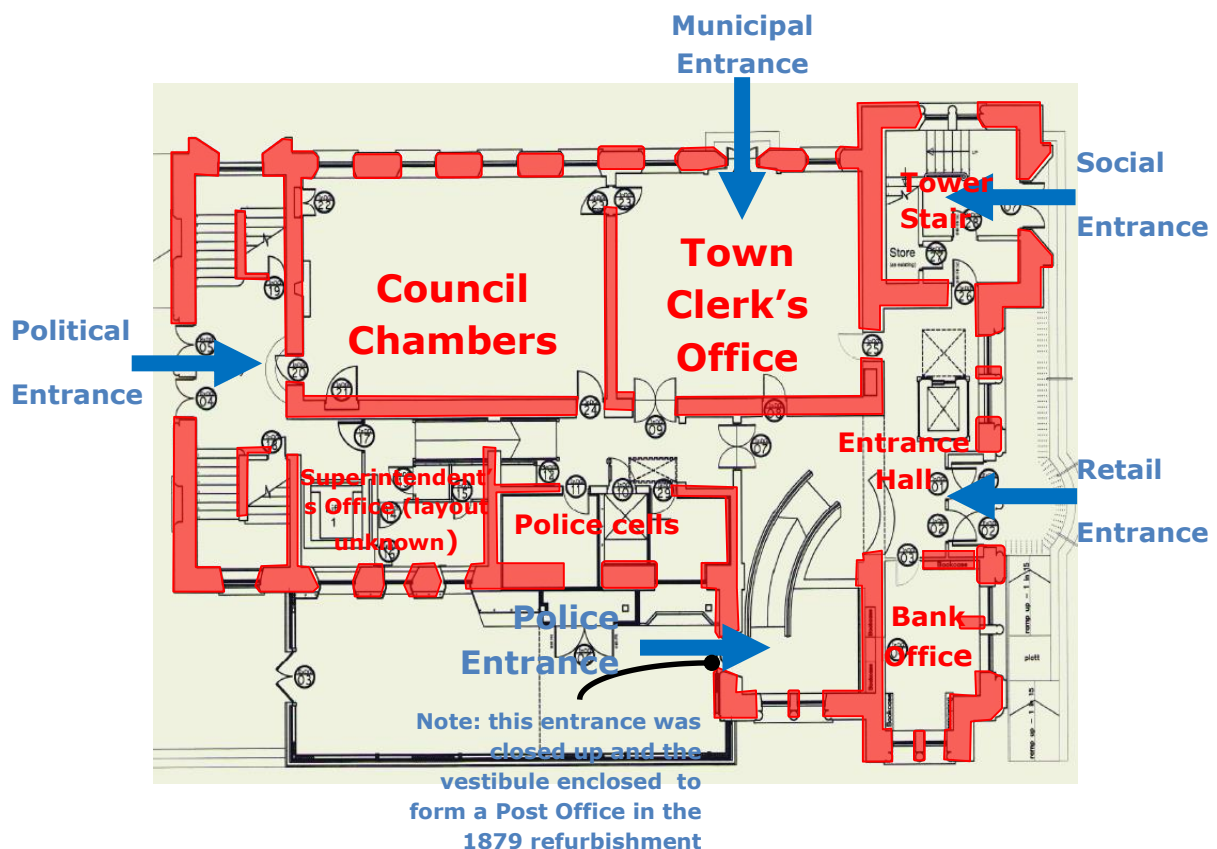
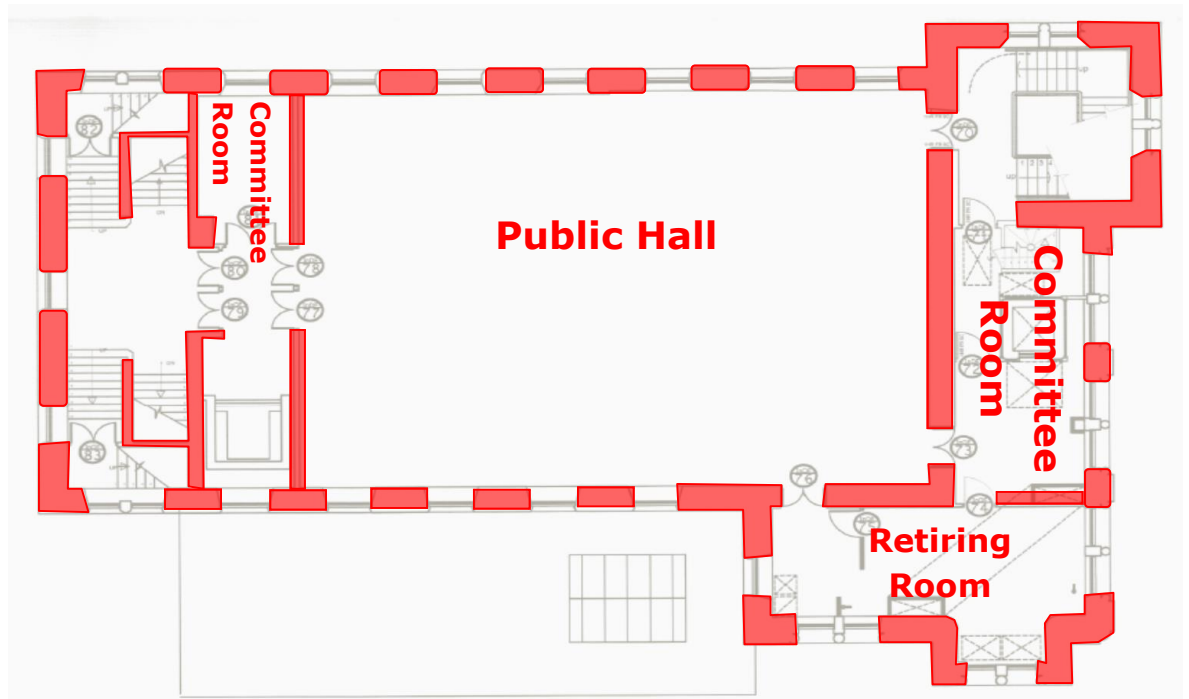


Figure 7: Ground Floor of Renfrew Town Hall (speculative), built in 1873 and rebuilt in 1878.

Source: Current plans of Renfrew Town Hall with Author's overlay.



Figures 8&9: Ground and First Floors of Renfrew Town Hall (speculative)

Source: Current plans of Renfrew Town Hall with Author's overlay.

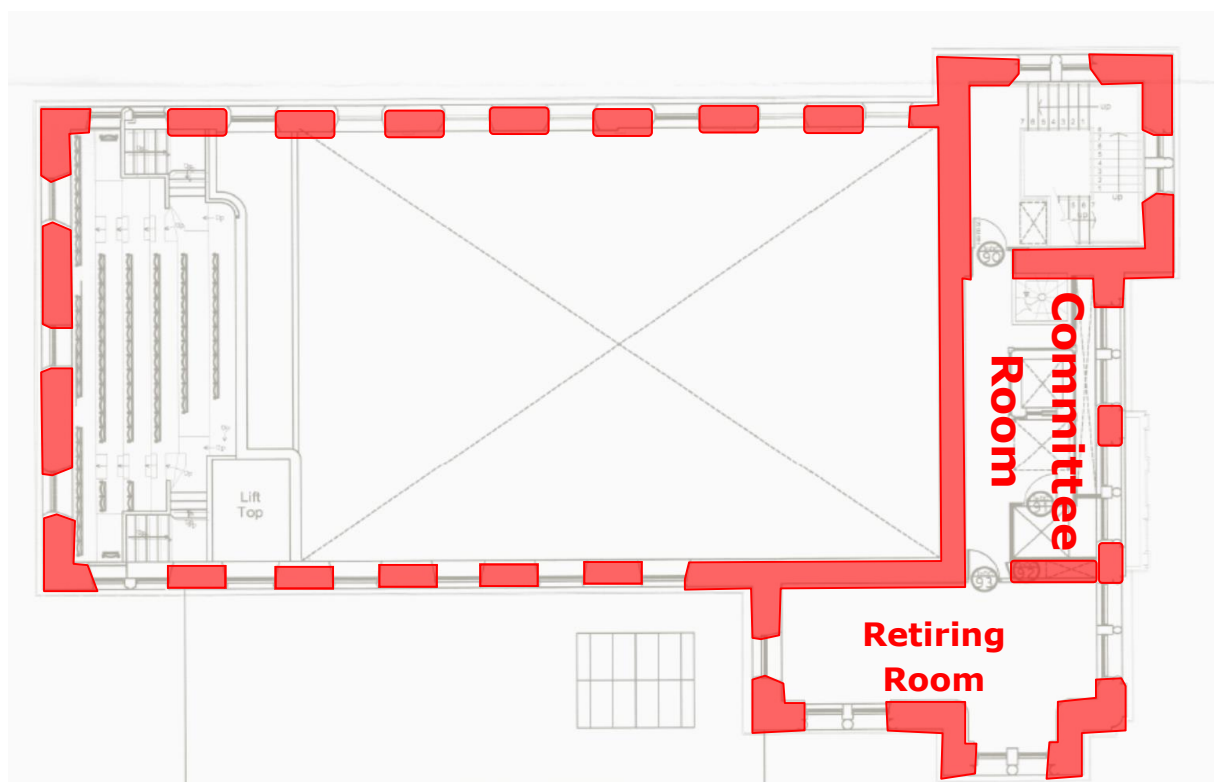


Figure 10: Second Floor of Renfrew Town Hall (speculative)

Source: Current plans of Renfrew Town Hall with Author's overlay.

As can be seen from Figure 7, the commercial and social functions of the building were accessed through the front elevation. The social function entrance was reserved for the grandest entrance- through the tower - whose massive windows would have allowed those ascending excellent views over Renfrew, and the chance to be viewed by the audience on the street below.

In keeping with most nineteenth century town halls, the public municipal function of the Town Clerk was kept separate from the main public entrance: the door to the public office was through the side entrance, while the Town Clerk's private office could be reached through an internal door. The Town Clerk's need to access all areas of the Town Council's functioning quickly is evidenced by the private door between his office and the tower stair, and a further door giving into the main entrance hall, from where he could reach the Council Chamber.

The police quarters, to the ground and mezzanine floors, occupied the elevation to Dunlop Street following the 1878 rearrangement, where their location would allow them to keep unsavoury visitors to the building as separate as possible from the social and retail elements of the building.

The Town Hall could be accessed via the tower stair, and also through a rear entrance, which also allowed access to the Council Chambers. The Town Hall was located through the second and third floors, with retiring rooms on both floors, as well as Committee rooms for the Council that were linked through a small internal staircase. That to the second floor allowed access to the public balcony located to the front elevation, so that the Provost could make formal pronouncements from the highest point of the building proper, distinct from the tower.

The free movement of occupants between the committee rooms, the Town Hall and the retiring rooms, and the sharing of a means of access, points to an acceptance of the intermingling of political and social functions of the building: both were equally important to the building's stature within the town. The corporate and policing functions, however, were not, and required separate entrances in an effort to segregate their uses from the other, more socially palatable functions of entertainment, politics and banking.

When the building was burnt down in 1878, Renfrew Town Council had the opportunity to rearrange the interior of the Town Hall. While most of the internal arrangement was little altered, the Town Council increased the commercial offer within the building by shutting off the entrance from Dunlop Street and creating

a post office within what had been the entrance hall so that the access for the police was solely through the newly enlarged rear entrance.

The enlarged entrance, completed in 1879, was described as “that facing passengers coming from the Railway Station”, where the town’s weights were now displayed as well.⁴⁰ The primary door for the Council Chambers was now also from this point, which housed a more elaborate double staircase than had previously been in the 1872 arrangement, leading to the rear of the Town Hall, effectively splitting the focus of the building away from the front elevation with its tower, as shown below.



Figure 11: Rear elevation of Renfrew town hall, as completed in 1879 following the 1878 fire, with gathering space to the foreground. The degree of symmetry and decoration are unusual for a secondary elevation on a small town hall.

Source: Author’s photograph, site survey April 14, 2014.

This suggests a growing awareness of the importance of the railway for the economy of Renfrew, and a desire to ensure that the Council’s Chamber and the Town Hall, and thus the political and social will of the County Town, were ready to embrace the modern age.

Functional segregation through controlled entrances was a key feature in the control of access to Renfrew Town Hall, which managed, within a small footprint, to combine a number of different functions while maintaining a coherent architectural style.

Political and social access was given priority in the layout, which was refocussed only five years after construction as the influences on the town’s development changed. The town hall no longer concentrated solely on impressing local

residents entering from the High Street but showed deference to visitor by making the rear entrance impressive in its own right.

Renfrew Town Hall was intended to represent the town's image, both to itself and others. Its focus on prioritising the political and social access of the town hall indicates how important these functions were to the creation of civic space in the nineteenth century. In particular, the design attention paid, both internally and externally, to supporting the social function suggests the role of the town hall was as much about the creation and definition of society as it was about local government, as is discussed in relation to other examples in Chapter 4. This focus on social function was one that was carried forward into the twentieth century to the north of Renfrew, with the creation of Dundee City Chambers under the sponsorship of the industrialist James Caird.

6 Dundee City Chambers: The Privatisation of Public Space

When Caird made his gift to Dundee of the Caird Hall, his primary goal was to provide a suitably grand public hall for the civic purposes of the city. Although a Council Chambers was included in the scheme, its provision was not the driver for the development. This focus on social promotion allowed the developers of the later City Chambers to heavily commercialise the building along the same lines as its predecessor – the Town House –, following an initial reticence to do so, as discussed in Chapter 5.

Although Georgian in style, the 1732 Town House by William Adam was conceived in form as a traditional medieval market hall, with retail premises within arches to the ground floor, and a small suite of rooms above to serve the civic functions of the Council.

The City Chambers, commenced in 1932, followed this same principle, with extensive commercial premises at ground floor level to both wings, to the consternation of some of the Councillors, who felt the mixture of commercial function with civic function to be inappropriate. Councillor Scrymgeour asked of the Works Sub-Committee "if they knew of any other city or town, even half the size of Dundee, that had municipal chambers with an entrance to the council chamber and committee rooms between shops", and if this arrangement would make for a "satisfactory civic centre".⁴¹

The linking of retail interests and local government within the same building dates back to the medieval period and is a consistent feature in Town Halls until

the late nineteenth century, pointing to the importance of using the town hall as a means of symbolising the close relationship between commerce and government. Kintore Town House in Aberdeenshire, built in 1737, was built to include a shop at ground floor, while Dumfries Town House, constructed in 1705, had its ground floor converted to this purpose in the early nineteenth century. Similarly, Ayr Town Hall, begun in 1828, had all its principal spaces at first floor level, with retail units below.⁴² There is a falling-off of the practice for town halls built in the 1880s and 90s, such as Glasgow, Inverness and Aberdeen, when the merchants supporting the growth of local government began to seek legitimacy by aiming to elevate their municipal power above the day to day requirements of retail. By the turn of the twentieth century in Scotland, retail was very infrequently included in town halls within boroughs of medium to large size, which may have provided the basis for Councillor Scrymgeour's questioning of the practice, despite the well-established relationship between control of the market and control of the town.

It is likely that established retail use of the ground floor of the eighteenth century Town House provided the necessary legitimacy for establishing the appropriateness of shop premises to the ground floor. For those considering the ongoing cost of the twentieth century Town Hall, however, the more prosaic concerns of established use and rental income would have provided motive enough for their inclusion.

In redeveloping the properties to the perimeter of the new City Square, Dundee Council was under obligation to rehouse the existing lessees and much care was taken to ensure this was done appropriately. The strong commercial function of the scheme was also carried through to the plans for the underground basement area, which runs the entire depth of the City Square. From the very initial proposals for this area of 1924, it was clear that Councillors foresaw a commercial use for the space, numerous iterations of which were developed during the City Square scheme.

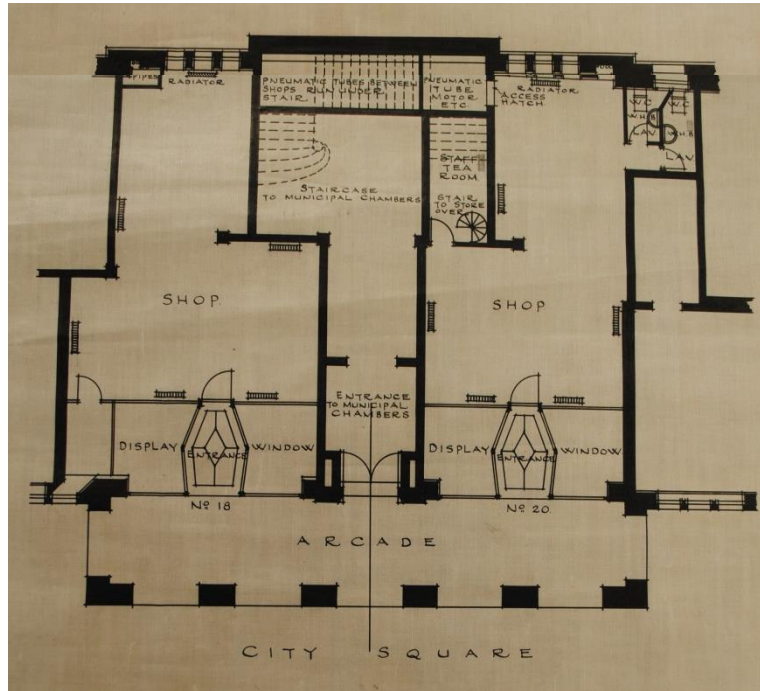


Figure 12: Ground floor plan of Dundee City Chambers, designed 1932: note the narrow dimensions of the entrance hall in comparison with the broad entranceway suggested by the external arcade.

Source: Collection of Dundee City Archive.

Unlike its nineteenth century predecessors, the City Chambers was not designed for public access from multiple access points. As can be seen from the ground floor plan reproduced above as Figure 12, there is only one public entrance of comparatively narrow dimensions, in the context of the size of the entrance arcade. This leads to a similarly narrow entrance vestibule and hall deep within the building, quite out of scale with the expectations set up by the grand dimensions of the City Square and entrance arcade, as shown below.



Figures 13&14: Dundee City Square and the West Wing of Dundee City Chambers, soon after completion in 1933.

Source: Postcard image, Author's collection and SCRAN: Scran ID: 000-000-153-492-C.



Figures 15-17: Entrance vestibule and staircase hall at Dundee City Chambers.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, November 18, 2014.

While the quality of materials is as high as one might expect in a public building of regional importance, the space struggles to give the sense of an appropriate level of grandeur, due to the constraints of space and the lack of natural light penetration that results from the depth of the plan. The somewhat claustrophobic feel is heightened by the awareness that this is the only obvious way into the building: it does not share the properties of permeability experienced in other town halls through multiple clearly-designed access points, such as at Renfrew Town Hall and Kirkcaldy Town House. Neither was this a reflection of precedent: the previous Town House had a large open hall space to

its principal floor that anticipates public congregation, where its antecedent discourages it, through its narrow upper and lower halls.

The exclusion of any provision for social functioning is highly unusual, which, as is suggested in Chapter 5, may be linked to the Council's vision for the Square as something of an open-air public hall for the people of Dundee. The effect of making no provision for mass public access has the effect of making the decision-making and operation of the Council appear private and somewhat anonymous: not a civic space where access from the public is welcomed.

Given the Council's high-handed treatment of the citizen's concerns over the demolition of the Town House, as is discussed in Chapter 3, there is a strong suggestion that this wish to separate the City Chambers from the idea of direct public engagement was deliberate, rather than the forced decision of pragmatism. While there was a need to rehouse the shop units displaced by the development, the Council's ownership of the entire area of the city, as discussed in Chapter 5, would have allowed them to be offered a similarly prime location outwith the immediate site of the City Chambers, had the Council desired it.

When coupled with the enclosing of the public viewing area and the hiving off of the historic social function to the City Square instead of providing an internal space within the Chambers, the evidence suggests that the narrow entrance public circulation spaces were a response to the Council's desire to separate the political working of the Council from the public scrutiny invited by town halls which were designed as true civic spaces, containing more open vestibule and staircase hall arrangements, as demonstrated in the other examples in this chapter. While this move towards greater privacy is immediately clear from the arrangement at Dundee, in later buildings it is more subtly managed, as is evident from Kirkcaldy Town House.

7 Kirkcaldy Town House: The Appearance of Openness and a Burgeoning Social Conscience

In contrast to Dundee City Chambers, Kirkcaldy Town House - begun in 1939 and completed in 1956 - creates an impression of being more accessible to the public through its arrangement of space. Access is through multiple entrances, characterised by their function, as at Renfrew Town Hall some sixty years before. As shown below in the floor plan, the main entrance constitutes the civic

focus, where people enter from the Civic Square into the entrance hall. The adjacent triple height staircase, shown below in Figures 22&23, together with the 200sq.ft. mural discussed in Chapter 4, indicate the primary nature of this space within the Town House.

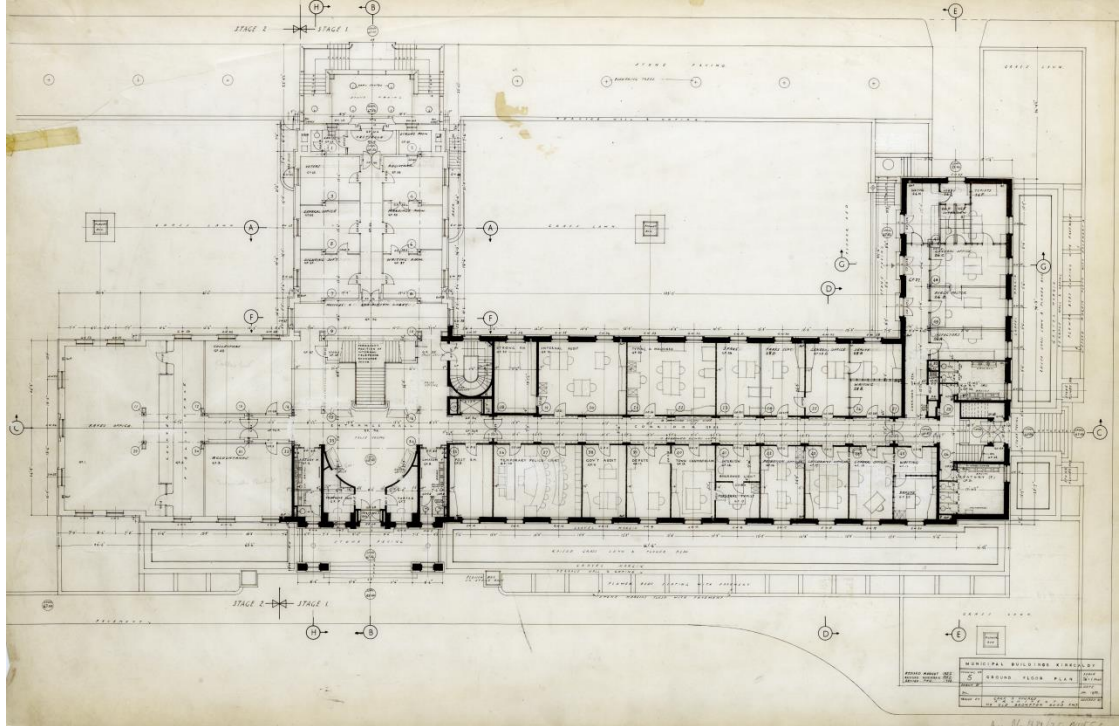


Figure 18: Kirkcaldy Town House, Ground Floor Plan, 1939. The areas marked in bold indicate those sections completed as part of Stage I of the Town House.

Source: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

Additional entry points were also available from two locations to the south wing, where the majority of administrative functions were carried out, and from the rear of the political space, where an impressive secondary entranceway gave access to a suite of Councillors' offices, thus heralding a political theme, as shown below. Although serving the largest floor area of the building's occupancy, the entrances to the administrative sections are relatively unprepossessing in comparison, indicating their secondary status to the political and civic function.



Figure 19: Rear elevation to Kirkcaldy Town House.

Source: Author's photograph, Kirkcaldy Town House site visit, July 11, 2014.

Entering the building from four possible points made the building porous and allowed for

its efficient operation as a civic space, serving multiple civic interests in a manner that made clear the hierarchy of concerns.⁴³

This appearance of accessibility was increased by a change to the plan from that proposed in the 1938 competition design. The built version of Kirkcaldy Town House lost the planned apsidal antechamber, but gained a political ante room at first floor level that gives out onto the front entrance canopy, as shown below.



Figures 20&21: The Councillor's anteroom, known colloquially as "The Stairheid". The central staircase is to the left of Figure 20, and the floor to ceiling windows just visible beyond the chandelier originally opened out onto the balcony above the main entrance. The blue chairs in the anteroom are the original Magistrates' Chairs from the Council Chamber.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, July 11, 2014.

The room's particularly open design gave it the appearance of increasing access to the process of political decision-making. It had no separating wall from the main staircase and was open to the corridor on both sides, making it a highly

visible space. The architect David Carr explained the reasoning for these alterations to the 1938 competition design as follows:

“In obtaining particulars for these incorporations it has been found that an alteration to the main staircase would greatly enhance the usefulness and dignity of the building. It is understood that the ante-room of the Council Chamber is not used for divisions of the Council, and therefore it has been planned on the main front, giving access to the canopy over the porch, where public announcements could be made, and allowing the main staircase to be placed in a more suitable position.”⁴⁴

The role of the ante-chamber as a means of promoting the political visibility of the Council was thus foremost in its design. The potential for it to be used as a place of political decision-making is specifically excluded from its description, because, as the architect pointed out, that function would make it unsuitable for such an open environment. Privacy for political decision-making was still essential.



Figures 22&23: The central staircase atrium at Kirkcaldy Town House. Figure 21 shows the original layout as completed in 1956, before the upper levels were closed in as a safety and energy conservation measure in the nineteen eighties.

The ante room on the first floor is just visible to the left mid-ground of Figure

20.

Source: Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments Photograph Collection ref: SC381089 and author's photograph, Kirkcaldy Town House site visit, July 11, 2014.

The change gave the appearance of accessibility to the central core of the building, allowing Councillors to congregate in the first floor anteroom before moving across the staircase hall to the Chambers on the same level. As the staircase, like the anteroom, was open, anyone within the building would have been able to see and hear the politicians conversing and making ready for Council meetings. Those in the Square outside would have been able to see them through the large range of floor to ceiling windows that formed the focus of the elevation. The political process was clearly on view for any who wished to see it, and free interaction with politicians was available by simply climbing the stairs to speak to them. No actual decisions of political import would be taken, however. The real process of politics was still invisible, despite the impression to the contrary.

Although it is clear that spatial segregation and the appearance of accessibility of political function governed the layout of Kirkcaldy Town House, one detail of the development suggests the beginning of a greater appreciation of the role of the administrator and a concern for their welfare, broadening the scope of what was understood as civic space.

In October 1955, the architects reported to the Provost's Committee on the possibility of using what had been the temporary Council Chamber to the front of the building, as a staff canteen, in this instance referred to as a Refreshment Room.⁴⁵

Canteens were unknown in town halls until this date, evidenced by the necessity of the Town Clerk having to poll the staff to find out if they would actually use such a facility. The common understanding was that staff would travel home or to a nearby cafe for the midday meal. Any supplementary refreshment would be taken at their desk: either prepared themselves or via a visiting trolley.

The staff poll confirms this: the Town Clerk reported that only 29 of over 120 staff members would want to use the refreshment room for a mid-morning or mid afternoon tea or coffee break.⁴⁶

Despite the overwhelming lack of interest in having a Refreshment Room, the Committee decided to go ahead with providing one for the staff, and actively promote its use through preferential charging: it was decided that the Council

would cover the cost of heating and equipment, and the charge to consumers would be limited to the actual cost of the food. In addition, Heads of Departments were to ensure their staff had time off to visit the Refreshment Room, establishing the importance of break times within the working day.⁴⁷

The Refreshment Room was ultimately installed as planned on the second floor, overlooking the main square and directly off the central staircase. Unlike the Councillors' antechamber below, glazed partitioning was immediately fitted, presumably to avoid noise bleed from the clatter of cutlery into the rest of the building.

The provision of a staff canteen, particularly against strong evidence of its potential redundancy, points to a new social awareness on the part of the Councillors. World War II is generally held to have prompted a greater interest in universal social welfare, evidenced by the subsequent creation of the NHS and a concurrent responsibility in those in authority to provide for workers. At Kirkcaldy, the Committee reports of the post-World War II work are littered with references to increased costs as a result of social insurance and general welfare charges. The Councillors may have been acting on this impulse: tellingly, no staff canteen was included in the original 1938 scheme, suggesting that the idea of providing refreshment facilities was a new concept that had developed during and after the War years. In the town halls that followed Kirkcaldy, a staff canteen was provided as a matter of course, and by 1959, at Lanark County Buildings, the staff canteen was located in arguably the best location in the building: on the thirteenth floor of the tower block, looking out over all of Lanarkshire. Kirkcaldy Town House may have been the first in this progression to a local authority that acknowledged the welfare needs of its administrative staff.

The concept of civic space was thus expanded to include the idea of welfare facilities for employees; a sign of increasing political awareness of changing social standards for workers, and perhaps a harbinger of the nascent age of the technocrat that was just beginning at the time of the building's completion. Together with the appearance of improved access to politicians, Kirkcaldy can be read as creating a more civic space of the town hall than had been attempted previously. However, the ease of circulation and access through the building were no more than lessons learned from the nineteenth century predecessors, reapplied in a twentieth century context.

8 Lanark County Buildings: The Triumph of Administration

Unlike the attention paid to ensuring a grand civic entrance shown at Kirkcaldy Town House, the main entrance to Lanark County Buildings (opened in 1964) intimidates and disappoints the civilian visitor, with an uneasy external access route, leading to an entrance that does not live up to the expectations built up during the approach to the building.

Access to the corporate block is via a walkway above the landscaped area to the front of the site; a steep ramp from a side street; or a raised terrace from the political wing. In this way, the visitor must always be elevated to gain access to the Council Officers.

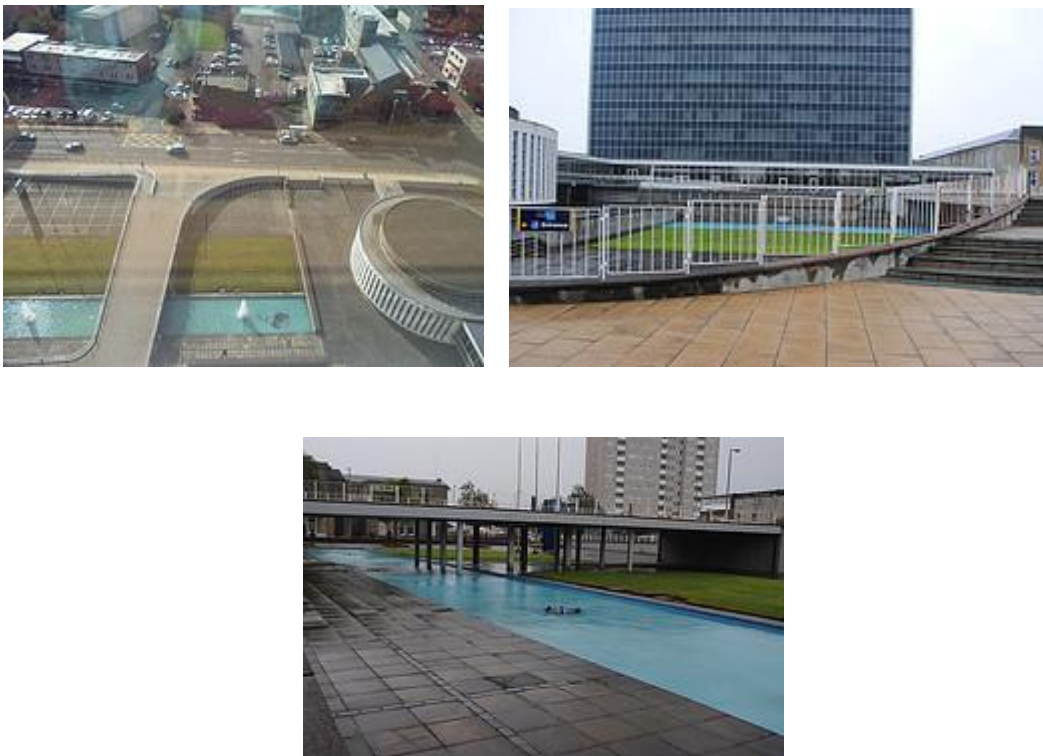


Figures 24-25: The Pedestrian ramp to the corporate entrance from the pavement; the side view of the pedestrian ramp, showing later skyscraper housing tower in the background, and the east elevation of the County Buildings, showing the alternate ramp access to the corporate block.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, August 17, 2013.

Viewed in the abstract, the raised access to Lanark could be seen as an attempt to offer dominance to the visitor as much as the administrator, however. The broadness of the walkway and its evident superiority over the green space below

would support this intention. In reality, however, the experience of the walkway is quite different. As can be seen from the images above, the open nature of the front part of the site makes the walkway very open to the elements. In the west of Scotland, this means heavy exposure to the rain and wind for much of the year. The walkway narrows as one progresses towards the building and over the pond below. The effect is to give the visitor the impression of crossing a gangway, with the attendant associations of insecurity of foothold and urgency of reaching the destination entrance. Far from aggrandising the visitor, Lanark creates a position of discomfort and inferiority before the main civic space is even accessed.



Figures 26-28: The raised access route to Lanark County Buildings, from a range of viewpoints.

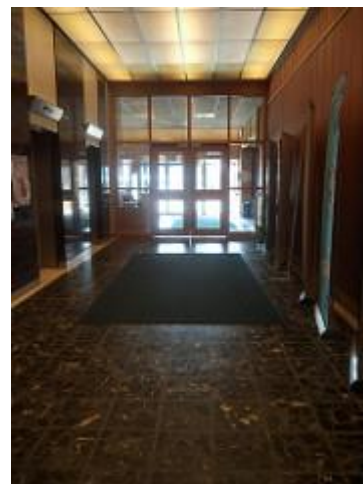
Source: Author's photographs, site survey, August 17, 2013.



Figure 29: The relationship between the Council Chambers and the corporate block at Lanark County Buildings, shown in a 1964 photograph of the site.

Source: South Lanarkshire Council Archive Collection.

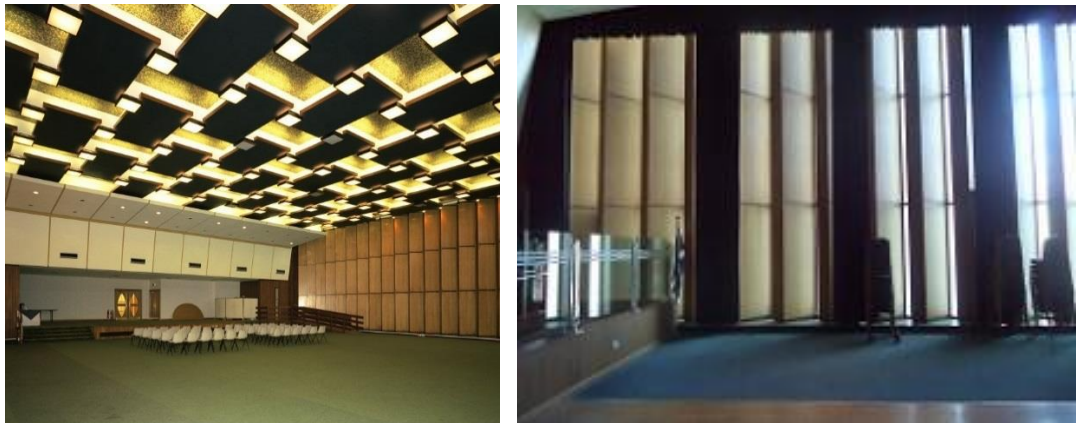
Immediately upon entry, it is evident that the corporate block functions poorly as a civic space for public congregation. Unlike Kirkcaldy Town House - completed only three years before - it does not have a grand entranceway that serves to welcome people into the building. Instead, for all the grandeur anticipated by the long and broad external entranceway across the manicured front open space, the entrance hall to the corporate block appears almost disappointingly domestic in scale, as shown in Figures 30 and 31. Although double height, it is narrow, and its more expensive finishes are modestly used. The lack of substantial dimensions in comparison with the scale of the external spaces makes it appear unbalanced in comparison: hardly a grand civic welcome to the building.



Figures 30&31: Entrance hall and lift lobby at Lanark County Buildings. Despite modern alterations, the form of the original space is still discernible; its restraint compared to the expectations built up by the entranceway is notable.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, April 15, 2014.

The Banqueting Hall is treated in similarly ungenerous terms. The entrance is not directly off the corporate block entrance hall, but is situated instead down a flight of stairs, towards the rear of the building. Where we might expect - as at Renfrew Town Hall - for the Banqueting Hall to be in a position of prominence within the building's design, with large windows to showcase the occupants from the street outside, here the somewhat hidden location is reinforced with lancet windows. These offer only obscured views internally and externally.



Figures 32&33: The Banqueting Hall, prior to its recent redecoration, and its lancet windows.

Source: Canmore image ref: SC 716161 and author's photograph, site survey April 15, 2014.

The Banqueting Hall, far from being the jewel in the civic crown, is hidden away and given a position of considerably lesser prominence than the staff canteen on the fifteenth floor, for example.

In comparison with nineteenth century equivalents, both the means of access and the Banqueting Hall fall far short. Aberdeen Town Hall, designed by Peddie & Kinnear in 1867 and the equivalent of Lanark in stature, presents a very different welcome to its visitors.



Figure 34: Exterior of Aberdeen Town Hall.

Source: <http://www.aberdeengardening.co.uk/diary/aberdeen-gallery/town-house-aberdeen-1/>, accessed June 14, 2016.

There are two vestibule halls in the latter building, one placed centrally and splitting into two flights at the half landing, as described above; the other leading from the corner tower, intended for use by Councillors. Both entrances lead deep into the building through the vestibule space. In the case of the main vestibule, these are a series of rectangles of double height, leading to a triple height main entrance hall of squared dimensions. The unchanging character of the spatial mass, together with its simplicity, creates an overall impression of openness and clarity of wayfinding.

The Councillors' entrance- now used as the main entrance - is shown in Figures 35-6 and is similarly impressive. A lofty groin-vaulted ceiling leads to a broad spiral staircase hall, lit by stained glass windows and housing a very large statue of Queen Victoria.



Figures 35 and 36: Councillors' Entrance and Staircase at Aberdeen Townhouse.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, April 8, 2014.

The Banqueting Hall continues this grand theme, as shown in Figures 37-8. It is located centrally within the building, and on the first floor. It looks out onto Union Street, one of Aberdeen's main thoroughfares, and is heavily decorated. Its triple height space has a ceiling of heavy dark wood hammerbeam panelling, and it is hung with flags of the local clans. In terms of its volume, it is the largest space within the building and is connected via internal doors to the Council Chambers on one side and a committee room on the other. There is no question as to the primary importance of this space.



Figures 37 and 38: Main Banqueting Hall at Aberdeen.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey April 8, 2014.

Comparing Aberdeen Town Hall to Lanark, the lack of a grand internal civic welcome and limited design deference to the latter's Banqueting Hall point to a considerable revision to the meaning of the town hall as a civic space. The historic emphasis on forging common values through the sharing of a social space was no longer prioritised in the formulation of the plan.

While the social values of civic space were secondary in the design of Lanark County Buildings, political accessibility was a key concern. As can be seen from the aerial view in Figure 39 below, one can access the Council Chambers directly from the street level entrance beneath a low canopy, making it significantly easier to reach the political body than the corporate.

Lanark's Council Chamber is well known for its almost fully articulated external circular form, created from shuttered concrete sections inlaid with lancet window opening at regular intervals. The Council Chambers itself sits as a discreet entity within this envelope, and a corridor runs between it and the outer skin.



Figure 39: Lanark County Buildings Council Chamber, seen from the fifteenth storey canteen space above.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, August 17, 2013.

As a pedestrian on the street, the Chambers is visible almost in the round, with Council meeting rooms and a corridor connecting it to the corporate block tucked away behind. Unlike the corporate block, the Chambers is immediately accessible from the pavement, with which it is joined by a small footpath. It is as far as it can be from the corporate block without compromising the appreciation of its shape from the footpath. Where the corporate block is a massive grey and white block that is deliberately of an inhuman scale, the double-height Chambers has an entrance that is covered by a deep but low canopy, which further enhances its human scale.

The finish of the Council Chambers is in chunky precast concrete panels with a fine exposed aggregate, redolent of harled Scottish walls: a decidedly warmer finish than that found elsewhere. On the corporate block, an anodised aluminium curtain wall covers the entire elevation, the only variation where it is horizontally banded fronting office space, and vertically-lined in front of the main entrance hall and the two catering floors at the top of the building. Its diminutive scale is redolent of a village hall with its positive associations of tradition and close-knit communities.

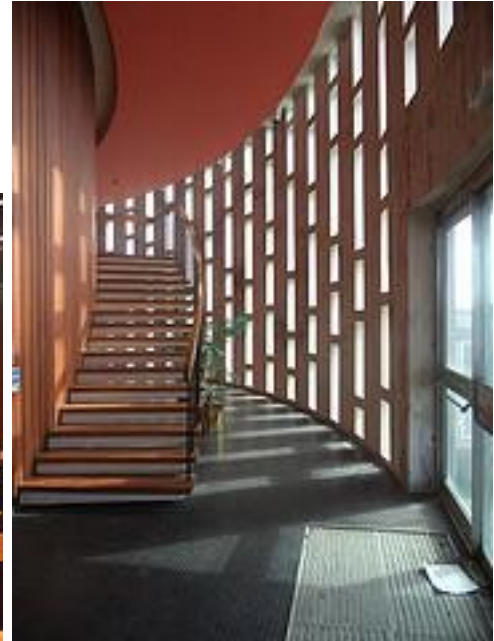


Figure 40: Street elevation of the Council Chambers, Lanark County Buildings. Note the low entrance canopy and clear glass doors.

Source: Author's survey, August 17, 2013.

The articulation of the chambers, its positioning within the plan, the small scale of its entrance front, and the choice of building materials and style were all carefully planned to ensure the visual difference between the political and corporate bodies, and maximise the sense of accessibility surrounding the chambers. The chambers is intended to symbolise the separation of the political body from its corporate servants: easily accessible to its constituents and leading the actions of the council officers, who sit behind it. So separate is the chambers that it does not even share a central axis with the corporate block, but rather sits off to one side, intentionally isolated from it.

In an age where the public mind was focused on the optimism of the skyscraper, as discussed in Chapter 4, the architect Bannerman kept the scale of the chambers human, and located it to afford the easiest possible access. His intended message was clear: the political activity of Lanark County Council was inclusive to all, unfettered by the machinations of the corporate body. As a civic space, the external impression is highly favourable, but ultimately disingenuous.



Figures 41 and 42: Left; the interior of the Council Chambers at Lanark, and right; the stairs to the public gallery from the street entrance to the Chambers.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, April 15, 2014.

As mentioned above, although the external appearance of the building suggests immediate access to the Council Chambers, and transparency is hinted at through the pattern of lancet windows cutting through the external concrete membrane, the chambers itself sits as a standalone structure within, a corridor walkway navigating its timber-clad walls. Although the chambers building is directly accessible from the street, public access to the chambers itself is kept separate from that of the Councillors. Upon entry, one is faced with a blank wall and forced to ascend to either the left or right, instead of the immediate access anticipated by the welcoming, simple exterior. The stairs lead to an enclosed and somewhat cramped viewing gallery, as was the case with earlier town halls.

The interior of the chambers is in the round, with high level lighting providing limited illumination and no penetration from the exterior to the interior. The space is lined with hardwood beadboard panelling, and seating is in fixed rows,

similar to arrangements of Council Chambers completed one hundred years earlier. A public gallery is located to the rear of the space, accessible via two staircases leading from the street entrance to the space. The chambers itself is lit only by high level windows, well beyond a height accessible to the public.

Beyond the Modernist skin of the external envelope, the chambers is a highly traditionally-conceived space, offering no improvements in accessibility over its antecedents. The design form of Lanark County Buildings gives the impression of ushering in a new era of civic engagement with its bold positioning of the chambers to the front of the design. At the same time the sense of the building as a civic space is diminished through the dominance of the administrative function. This move towards greater prominence in the design of the administrative elements was continued with the plans for Paisley Civic Centre.

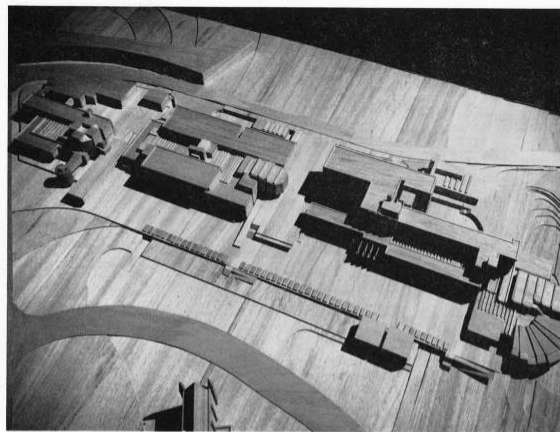
9 Paisley Civic Centre: The Town Hall Transforms

On first appearances, Paisley Civic Centre, designed by Hutcheson, Locke and Monk in 1963 and completed in 1969, seems to function well as a civic space. Access to the site was easily achieved, with the Town Square providing a place for public congregation. Straddled across a large space specially cleared for the purpose of housing the Civic Centre, the buildings are accessible in the round. The situation of the Town Square to the Paisley Town Council offices in particular makes a virtue out of not being located adjacent to the front elevation, its siting to the rear elevation appearing to enclose its occupants from the traffic of the main thoroughfare and creating a more secluded space for public gathering, as was the intention of the original designers.⁴⁸

The main access route of the Civic Concourse bisected the site, thus allowing penetration on the perpendicular, and there were numerous entry points for visitors on the front elevation of both buildings. The planned arrangement of the two Chambers looking on to the Civic Concourse, where the scale of building was to have been pedestrian, would have also made for the creation of a sense of ease of access to the site.

This multiple permeability is matched by the park-like atmosphere of the external open space areas. These were landscaped to allow for casual usage by citizens, transforming them into a civic space in their own right – albeit one without the usual ceremonial and ritual expectations of such areas when in close proximity to civic buildings, as discussed in Chapter 5.

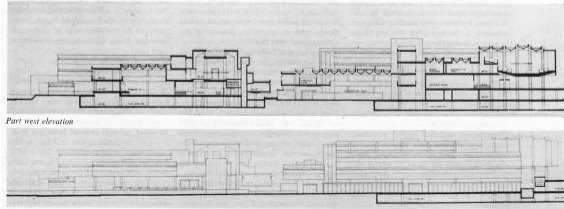
However, this impression of an accessible civic space is dissipated on closer examination. Because of the nature of the two organisations sharing the same site, there is no single main approach leading to a grand entrance hall, meaning that the civic emphasis is very much on the exterior of the building. The concentration on external elements may reflect a confusion as to the desired functional nature of the interior of the buildings, despite the competition brief. The 1964 competition entries showcase a range of different arrangements as well as a number of styles, from International Modernism to a kind of heavy monolithic use of concrete that would not find common favour for another fifteen years. The five runner-up entries are shown on the following pages.



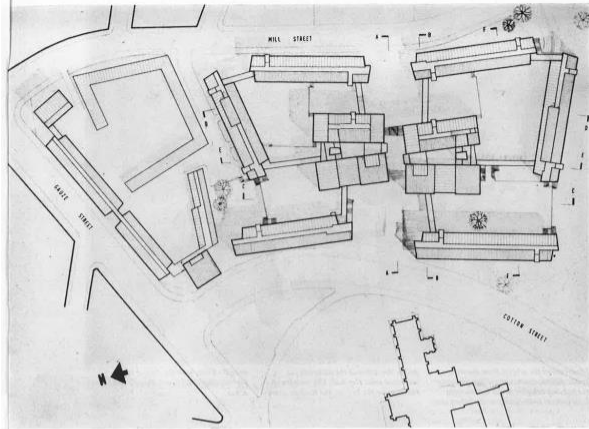
Model from the west shows the police headquarters left, Palsley town council offices, centre, and Renfrew county council offices, right

Second prize design: Robert Maxwell and J. L. C. Byron

Part north-south section through police building (left) and municipal buildings



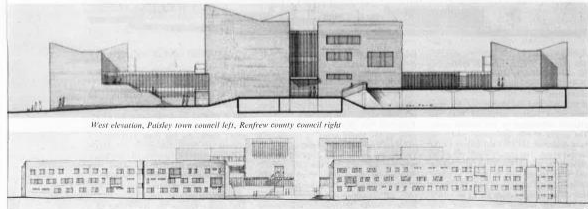
Part west elevation



Site plan. The main public open spaces are accessible from the platforms of the stepped pedestrian street, and by car one can drive in a central point in the covered parking area and gain immediate access by lift or stair to the 'core' of either county or municipal buildings, finding oneself in the entrance lobby which serves both the collecting hall and the council chamber suites. From the same point one can also rise by external stairs to the middle platform of the street. Council chambers are treated as twins and placed (on plan) in slightly tilted relationship to each other, leaving a no more than adequate gap through which the approach stair ascends by horse steps from the Abbey Green. Police offices are on the left.

Third prize design: Brian Bagot and Ian C. King

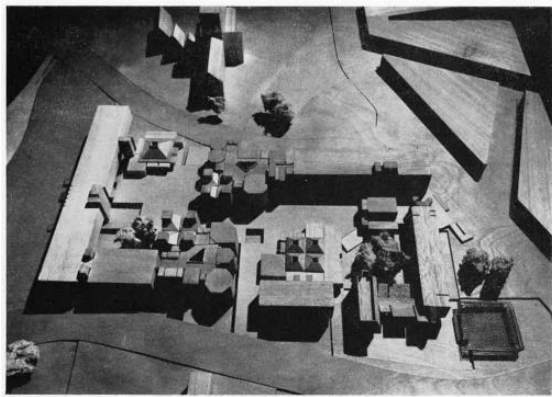
Section through the cleft between county and town offices (in elevation)



West elevation, Palsley town council left, Renfrew county council right

Figures 43 and 44: Second and third prize-winning entries by Maxwell and Byron, and Bagot and King respectively.

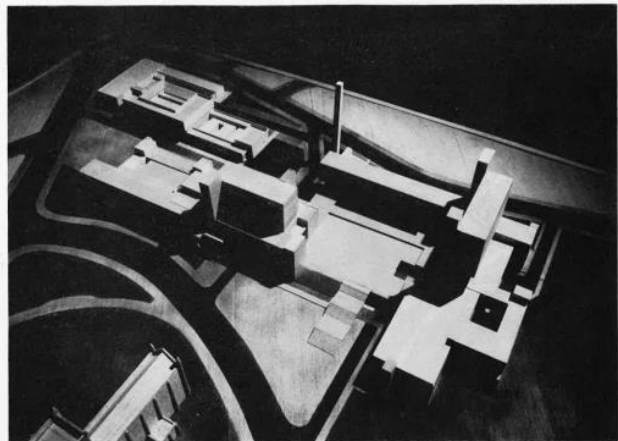
Source: Architects' Journal, Jan 6 1964, 96&97.



Model shows the scheme from the east. Police station, court, and garages comprise the building complex in the bottom right hand corner. Immediately to the left of this, and in the centre of the picture is the municipal collecting hall. The complex of buildings on the left are the Renfrew county council offices, with the Palsley town council offices top centre. Palsley Abbey is at top

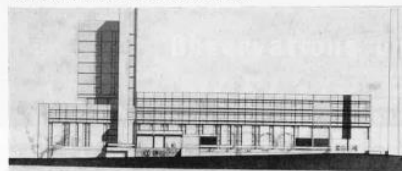
Design by D. A. Russell, R. Manley and M. A. Collins

South elevation of the county council offices



Design by Alun Jones & Allerton

Model of scheme from the south-west. Police headquarters, top left. Palsley town council offices, left centre, separated by a piazza from the Renfrew county council offices, right



East elevation of county council offices onto Mill Street.

Figures 45 and 46: Fourth and fifth-placed designs, by Russell, Manley and Collins, and Jones & Allerton respectively.

Source: Architects' Journal, Jan 6 1964, 98&99.

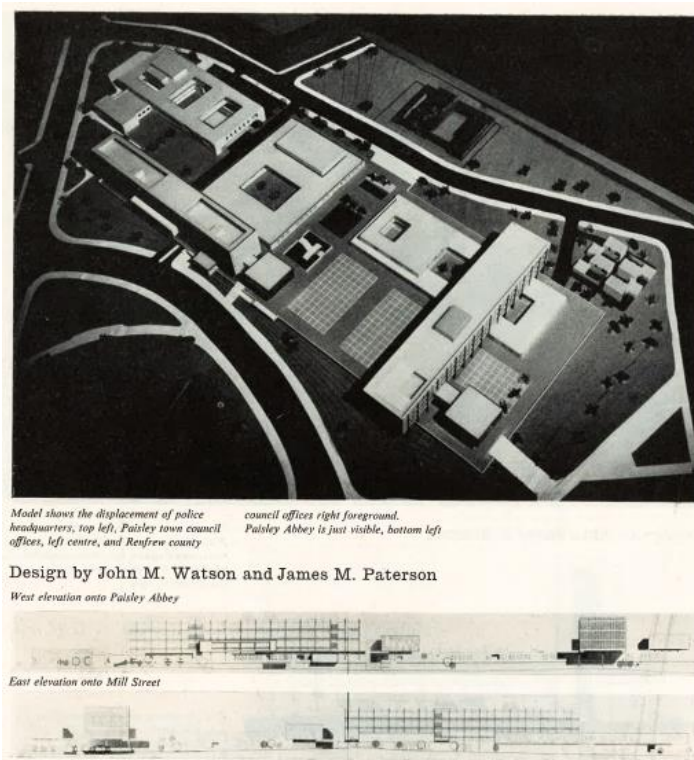


Figure 47: Sixth-placed design, by Watson and Paterson.

Source: Architects' Journal, Jan 6 1964, 100.

The entries shown above demonstrate the backdrop of uncertainty in which local government was operating in the mid-sixties and early seventies. The effects of central policies of regionalisation were beginning to be felt in a widespread ambiguity over the role of local town councils when the traditional gamut of their powers was being ceded to county councils. The concept of the town hall as a civic space had moved on to the point where the provision of a Banqueting Hall for supporting community adhesion was no longer a key driver in the creation of the building type, to the extent where its provision was not even part of the brief for Paisley Civic Centre. Instead, the "civic" elements of the site, in the sense of places for ritual civic gathering, comprised only of the Town Square and the two Council Chambers, which were planned for but never built.⁴⁹ As a result, the competition entrants grappled with managing the arrangement of services of administration in a meaningful way. The ideological tension of providing for the essentially private services of, for example, finance, planning, and welfare within a building which was traditionally emblematic of public access led to competition designs that were extremely varied in execution, but also largely unsuccessful in managing that conflict.

The third prize winner, by Brian Bagot and Ian C King, (Figure 44) placed the office of the Town Clerk on the third floor, far away from the hubs of either the corporate or political bodies, when anyone with real knowledge of local authorities would know that this role was central to the operation of both, and thus should be located as close as

possible to them.⁵⁰ The second prize winner by Robert Maxwell and JLC Byron (Figure 43) planned the Town Council chamber so that the Provost would have to sit with his back to some Councillors.⁵¹

Maxwell and Byron buried the two chambers deep within the scheme, giving each some prominence through location (in the case of the Town Council chamber) or height (in the case of the County Council chamber), but making neither the focus of the design. The difference in treatment without favouring either with greater design dominance points to a confusion as to their relative status, and their relationship with the corporate blocks, which dominate the scheme otherwise. In the third-placed entry, the chambers are equally treated, but again are set back within the plan, allowing the office blocks to dominate the front elevation.

While not achieving great clarity of vision with the design of the chambers, the second and third-placed designs at least articulated them as prominent features of the design. In the fourth and fifth-placed schemes by DA Russell and R Manley, and Alun Jones & Allerton respectively (Figures 45&46), it is not possible to distinguish the chambers from the surrounding office blocks, arranged in a confusion of shapes, sizes and relating dispositions. The off-axis and standalone nature of the two identical chambers in the sixth-placed design makes them appear accidental and insignificant, or “mean and inconsequential”, as the Assessors commented, beside the long low elevations of the Burgh and County Offices.⁵² In this inexperienced field, the knowledge of the winning architectural practice of Hutchison, Locke & Monk, two of whom had completed their undergraduate theses on civic centres and had entered similar competitions before, paid dividends in giving them at least some awareness of how to form a modern civic space. This was despite their not having actually visited the site until the submission day for the design model.⁵³

For all but the winning architects, the balance between the overwhelmingly-corporate focus of the scheme and the need to point to the traditional purpose of a town hall as a place of civic government proved too great to achieve. In selecting Hutchison, Locke and Monk, the assessors affirmed the significance of the Council chambers within the concept of the town hall, and yet, the chambers were not deemed important enough by those controlling the finances of the scheme to have been guaranteed construction. Instead, what was built was a vast range of administrative offices with a somewhat incongruous Town Square, without the traditional Provost’s balcony providing the connection to events within the Council chamber. The park-like atmosphere of the other external spaces, with their deliberately informal arrangement, ignored the opportunity for creating the missing link to public ritual through a more traditional spatial arrangement,

which might have recalled the civic atmosphere of older town halls. Instead, the external areas are read as entirely distinct from the Civic Centre buildings, having no shared civic function.

The challenge of the vast site dimensions, two local authorities and functional ambiguity was clearly more than could be navigated by the brief issued to the architects or indeed those paying for the buildings' construction, indicating the lack of a clear understanding of how such a site would function and what message was supposed to be delivered by its structures to the local population. Functions that had previously been understood to be the essence of this civic space had changed dramatically to mean administration only, with the social and even political elements - together with the opportunities for public access they presented - now removed from the design entirely or dismissed as unnecessary at a later date. Partially in design, and wholly upon the completed construction programme, Paisley Civic Centre was not a town hall, within the understanding of the building type as a space for public access and engagement.

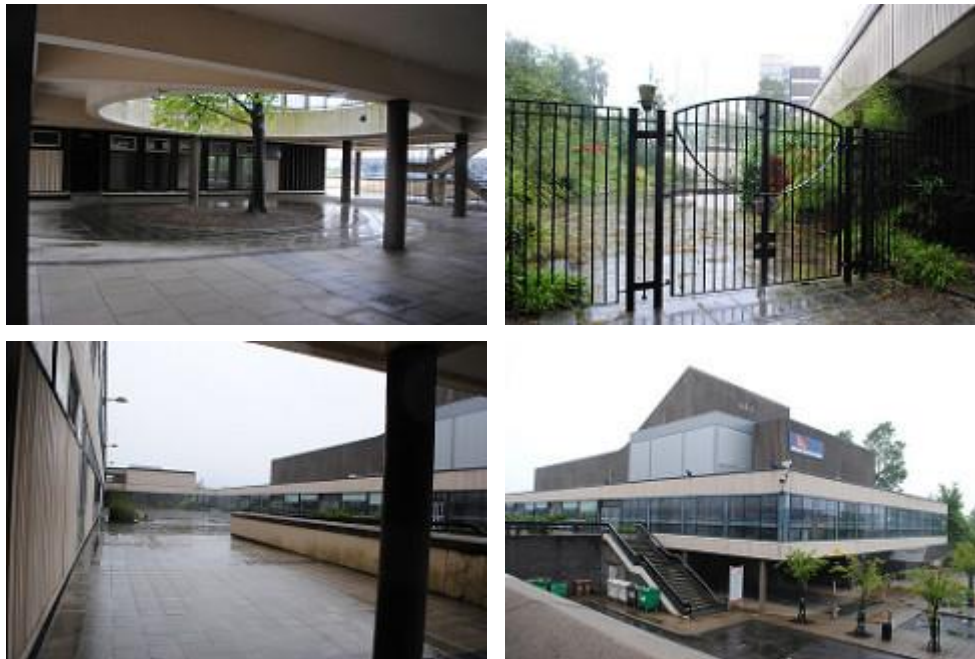
10 Conclusions

Historically, the idea of a town hall as a civic space was central to its creation. The modern town hall, by which we understand those constructed post 1833, was built as a response to changing attitudes to the ideas of locality and democracy. The town hall was identified as a manifestation of the growth of urban society, in terms of its new wealth, its social stratification and its nascent ability to control its own destiny, with increasingly less intervention from the landed gentry over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In design terms, this meant a focus on ensuring ease of public access from a number of routes that segregated function and often social class, as has been demonstrated in relation to Burntisland and Renfrew Town Halls.

In the latter, the importance of providing a space for public congregation is evidenced by a large and elaborate Banqueting Hall, which was easily the most important part of the building. At Renfrew, and at other town halls of the late nineteenth century, the civic values of such buildings reached their zenith, where both ready access and social function combined to create a building that came to embody the meaning of civic space both individually for the locality, and as a recognisable building type throughout the United Kingdom.

This civic quality - so important in earlier iterations of town halls - began to reduce in importance for those specifying the functional requirements of such buildings over the course of the twentieth century. Instead of seeking to welcome citizens into the heart of civic function, the emphasis shifted to providing such spaces externally. Examples

include that of Motherwell Civic Centre by Wylie Shanks & Partners and completed in 1965, where the exceptionally large site allowed for green spaces at a series of levels, as shown below.



Figures 48-52: Motherwell Civic Centre's numerous and varied external spaces, encouraging public congregation under the passive surveillance of the Council Officers.

Source: Author's survey, August 17, 2013.

Internal spaces were correspondingly designed to limit and discourage public opportunities to access the political function, as discussed in relation to Dundee City Chambers.

Paradoxically in parallel with the reduction in civic function was the will to appear more open to public engagement in the political process and thus create a more democratic civic space. As demonstrated in relation to Kirkcaldy Town House and Lanark County Buildings, the result was a building that was disingenuous in its public intent and thus a somewhat uneasy exponent of the idea of truly civic space.

As civic function waned, the administrative role of town halls increased, and with it, alterations to how civic access was enabled. Gradually, the public routes and assembly points of town halls changed to become lesser in status to those of administration. At Lanark County Buildings, the Banqueting Hall was minimised in the plan, while at Paisley Civic Centre, it did not form part of the brief at all. Instead, the corporate functions of the building took precedence.

From a mid-nineteenth century starting point where the town hall epitomised the generally-held concept of civic space, by the later years of the twentieth century it had changed utterly to become a place whose main focus was that of corporate functioning. In parallel to the growth and decline of local government, the town hall had moved from being a celebration of urban identity to an outpost of central government administration.

¹Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, ed., *Tolbooths and Town-Houses: Civic Architecture in Scotland to 1833* (Edinburgh: The Stationery Office, 1996), 1.

²Swati Chattopadhyay and Jeremy White, eds., *City Halls and Civic Materialism: Towards a Global History of Urban Public Space* (London: Routledge, 2014), 8. Materialism, Routledge, 2014, 8.

³Royal Commission, *Tollbooths*, 23.

⁴Kevin M Sweeney, *Meetinghouses, Town Houses, and Churches: Changing Perceptions of Sacred and Secular Space in Southern New England, 1720-1850*, Winterthur Portfolio, Vol. 28, No.1 (Spring, 1993), 59-93.

⁵"Speed-Up on Dundee City Square", *The Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, March 13, 1930, 4.

⁶Susan O'Connor, *Govanhill Baths: Conservation Statement*, The Prince's Regeneration Trust, unpublished (2014), 13.

⁷Peter J. Larkham, "Rise of the 'civic centre' in English urban form and design", *Urban Design International* (2004) 9, 3-15.

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- ⁹ Charles T. Goodsell, *The Social Meaning of Civic Space* (University Press of Kansas, 1988), Preface; 2.
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- ¹¹ Andy Croll, "Street disorder, surveillance and shame: Regulating behaviour in the public spaces of the late Victorian British town", *Social History*, Vol. 24 No. 3, (1999), 250-268; Croll, *Civilizing the Urban*.
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- ²² Hilda Kuper, "The Language of Sites in the Politics of Space," *American Anthropologist*, 1972, 421.
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- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² Ibid.
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- ³⁷ Renfrew Town Council, *Minutes of the Improvement Committee*, May 26, 1871. "The Chamberlain instructed to notify Mr William Malcom, William McMillan and the Police Officers resident in the Burgh Buildings, that they will require to remove therefrom within two months from this date preparatory to the buildings being taken down for the erection of the new buildings."
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- ³⁹ Editorial, "Opening of Renfrew Municipal Buildings", *The Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette*, October 18, 1873, 1; Editorial, "Renfrew Town Hall", *The Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette*, May 17, 1879, 4.
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⁴¹ "Speed-Up on Dundee City Square", *The Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, March 13, 1930, 4, Collection of Dundee City Archives.

⁴² Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *Tolbooths and Town-Houses*.

⁴³ It is telling that all but the main entrance were closed permanently as part of the 2013 refurbishment: this level of access is no longer considered appropriate or necessary.

⁴⁴ Kirkcaldy Burgh Council, *Meeting of the Provost's Committee*, February 10 (1938), Fife Archive Collection.

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⁴⁶ Kirkcaldy Burgh Council, *Meeting of the Provost's Committee*, December 17 (1955).

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Anthony Monk, interview with the author, November 15 (2013), London.

⁴⁹ Until the amalgamation of Paisley Town Council with Renfrewshire County Council to form Renfrew District Council in 1973, the Councils had their Chambers in Paisley Town Hall and the former Renfrewshire County Buildings - now Paisley Sheriff Court – respectively. The 1890 classical style County Buildings should not be confused with the c.1819 gothic style County Buildings that were demolished as part of the Paisley Plaza redevelopment. Paisley Sheriff Court's Court 8 is now used as the Chambers for Renfrewshire County Council, which took over from Renfrew District Council in 1994.

⁵⁰ Editorial, "Paisley Civic Centre Competition Result", *The Architects' Journal*, January 8, (1964), 95.

⁵¹ Editorial, "Paisley Civic Centre Competition Result", 93.

⁵² Editorial, "Paisley Civic Centre Competition Result", 96.

⁵³ Anthony Monk, interview with the author, November 15 (2013), London.

Chapter 3: Town Halls as Power

Contents

1	Introduction	107
2	Height, Scale and Redundancy	109
3	Demolition	114
4	Location	128
5	Conclusions	135

1 Introduction

The association between a town hall and power appears obvious at first glance: any building of such size, position and redundancy of feature is clearly important to its locality and built by those of considerable resources. Their construction is a result of a change in power structure, providing for its operation through the creation of spaces through which power can be operated. This chapter examines how town halls have become a vehicle for power over the local population during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, through the actuality of their presence and through their location. Power is also inherent in the spatial arrangement of town halls and how they are accessed, and the responses these cues illicit from those experiencing the space.

Power may be represented through sources at both a local and national level, which change in relationship to each other over time. These elements are combined or ignored according to the context, creating a highly individualised message of power.

The idea of change is central to the type of power exhibited by a town hall, as key theorists have noted. Jürgen Habermas suggests that such buildings are deliberately constructed at times of political crises to “root” the new authority within the existing landscape, thus legitimising its presence in a physical manner.¹ At Burntisland, the town hall reflects the change from aristocratic to a more democratic power, while at Renfrew the town hall is built because of a sense that power may be shifting away from the town elsewhere. The change in power at Dundee is also a reflection of a shift from local power: in this case, from the town to central government. Amalgamation of local authorities causes the construction of both Kirkcaldy Town House and Lanark County Buildings, and Paisley Civic Centre is an expression of the growth in power of the technical staff of the administration and the corresponding decline in power of the local political structure.

Michel Foucault suggests that buildings operate as a mechanism for creating power interactions, by constructing relationships that create an awareness of power, such as those using sightlines to and from buildings: a concept that has particular relevance for town halls with their dominating towers, as discussed in Section 2 below.²

Lefebvre's theory of lived space- that space is experienced by people as part of their everyday lives and they respond to its cues – has relevance for the impact of decisions made by those in power relating to the creation of space for town halls through demolition, and through their location within the urban pattern of the town or city.³ The sense of subjugation resulting from these choices reflects on the ultimate success of town halls as vehicles of power, as discussed further in Sections 3 and 4.

The architect Amos Rapoport also points to the design of a building as evidence of power. He suggests that it can be conveyed by the employment of design redundancy - obviously needless elements of the design that perform the role of demonstrating that the patron can afford to do more than the bare minimum to fulfil the brief.⁴ In the case of town halls, this can take the form of Greek temple elements, bartisan towers or excessively long entrance routes, as is discussed in Section 2 below.

Foucault presents power not as a simple exertion from a powerful object to a powerless subject, but rather as an active system of relationships, within which power ebbs and flows. His concept of 'governmentality', outlined in his essay of the same name, is that governmental power in particular is fragile and very likely to change.⁵ Foucault's focus on the idea of change as part of power, in contrast to the Marxist view of power being permanent, is central to how the exercise of power is explored in this chapter, and throughout this thesis. In *The History of Sexuality*, he describes power as "the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them".⁶ Power is not fixed with any one entity, but rather changes according to the strategies and tactics of its producers and consumers, to use Michel de Certeau's terminology.⁷ The town hall can be viewed as an affirmation of power held at a particular point in time, but as Foucault suggests, and this research affirms, this power is ultimately transitory.

The ebb and flow between those exhibiting control and those reacting to it is exhibited even in the most flagrant display of power: that of demolition, as discussed in Section 3. Although Dundee City Council demolished their eighteenth century town house, they were compelled ultimately – in the face of widespread condemnation from their citizens – to create a visual reminder of the building as the frontispiece to their new City Chambers in 1932. While upon

initial appraisal, power in a town hall may appear to be monolithic, in reality the expression is much more complex. The following text examines the main ways in which power is expressed by a town hall, using the case study examples detailed in Chapter 1 to build a detailed examination of each topic of height, scale, redundancy, demolition, and location. It examines how town halls in the nineteenth and twentieth century harnessed power through their built form, in an effort by their patrons to wield the most power in their locality. It investigates the relationships of power within politics and across classes, as amplified by the process of building a town hall, and how changes within these relationships are evident in the buildings.

2 Height, Scale and Redundancy

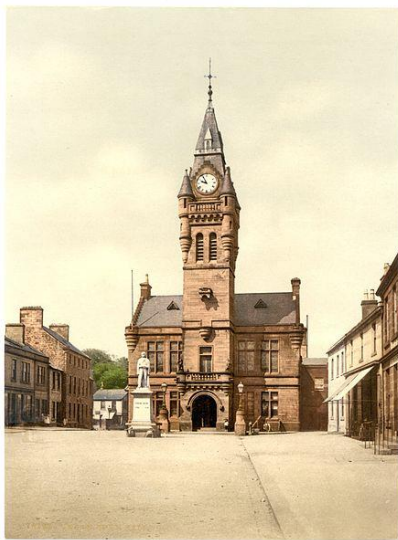
The most immediately evident means of power expression in a town hall is through the exaggeration of the built form, through the inclusion of a vertical or horizontal element that is out of scale with the surrounding urban environment, such as a tower or long range of buildings. Theorists agree that such enlarging of the design is a common facet of buildings of power, and is consistent in its application throughout the period under study. The use of height in particular through the construction of a large tower is a common feature in nineteenth century town halls such as that at Renfrew, discussed in detail below.⁸ A skyscraper tower provides the height at the twentieth century Lanark County Buildings, while at the later Paisley Civic Centre, the emphasis is on longitudinal exaggeration, rather than vertical. Murray Edelman theorises that the effect of such monumentality is to intimidate those entering the structures into viewing themselves as minor actors within a much larger structure, symbolising a political entity that is remote and only “dimly . . . understood”.⁹

Foucault suggests that height is a vehicle of coercion in other ways. He views architecture as both sovereign and disciplinary power: on the one hand, the town hall is a clearly a structure of the unequivocal power of government, but it is also a building that enforces not through a display of force or aggression, but through an ongoing programme of administration that teaches people to act in an anticipated fashion without a direct display of force.¹⁰

Using Bentham’s panopticon prison as a model, Foucault described architecture as creating a means of continuous surveillance and a feeling of general visibility: a means for society’s disciplinary capacity and a “dystopian unfreedom”.¹¹ The typical nineteenth century town hall in particular, with its taller than average elevations and its tower that dominated the surrounding landscape, punctured

by large windows, like a massive eye on a stick, can be seen as a means of such social control; what Foucault refers to as an “intensifier” of power. Examples of such town halls are found at Irvine, by James Ingrim in 1859, Rutherglen, by Charles Wilson in 1862, Lockerbie, by David Bryce in 1880, Motherwell, by John Bennie Wilson, in 1886 and Hawick, by James Walker in 1886.

At the 1878 Annan Town Hall by Peter Smith, the tower can be seen from miles around, dominating not only the immediate streetscape, but the entire region, as can be seen from the images below:



Figures 1-3: A late nineteenth century postcard of Annan Town Hall shows it dominating the immediate streetscape; the western approach into the town demonstrates the height of the tower over the rest of the town's buildings; and an aerial photograph of the town, demonstrating the importance of the tower – coloured red – in signalling the gateway into the town.

Sources:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Town_Hall,_Annan,_Scotland-LCCN2001703576.jpg, <http://www.annan.org.uk/places-of-interest/town.html>,
and
<http://www.britainfromabove.org.uk/image/spw040219?search=annan&ref=21>,
all accessed June 14, 2016.

The tower and spire creates and controls the entrance into the town, dominating the streetscape upon approach and arrival.

Even in later town halls where the height of the tower is lost, such as those at Kirkintilloch, built in 1905 by Walker & Ramsay, and Troon, built in 1932 by James Miller, the open spaces adjacent to the town hall are places of municipal control and observation. Through the passive surveillance by the ever-increasing numbers of council officers, the town hall exercises power over the populace.

In *The Signature of Power*, Harold Lasswell suggests that the "relative priority of power is reflected in the environmental emphasis on power", in other words, the most important source of power within a town will be evident through its being the highest building in the town.¹² The height of the tower at Renfrew Town Hall came in for particular comment during the foundation stone laying ceremony in 1872. The ceremony's chief celebrant, Colonel Campbell, noted that

"The ecclesiastical portion of our community having raised a beautiful spire, the consequence was that there was a certain amount of jealousy within the lay element, and thought they must have a spire too. And they must have determined to aspire when the foundation stone was placed thirty feet off the ground"¹³

The tower was built to satisfy the desire of the Council not to be outdone by the Church in physically dominating the town, and to ensure that the town could no longer be judged poorly by having a small spire to its primary civic space.

It was also designed to be read as a symbol of the town's power over the surrounding region, aiding this impression. In the published descriptions of the building, the tower is the main feature:

"The height of the building is two storeys, and at the north-east corner of the Hairst Street façade a massive tower rises, which is finished with corbelled turrets and rich ornamental cresting and finials. At the base of the tower, 105 feet in height, is the main doorway, surmounted by the arms of the Burgh; and above this there is a large double staircase window, while over this again are in succession a large bell-room, four clock dials, each seven feet in diameter, and a series of small balconies between the turrets, from which a splendid view of the surrounding districts can be obtained".¹⁴

When the building was burnt down in 1878, the Town Hall tower's dominance was remembered in the *Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette*:

"Even to those who have never been within the precincts of the ancient Burgh, the outline of the Town Hall was clear, for, surmounted by its handsome clock it formed a conspicuous and picturesque feature in the landscape. The country for some miles around the town of Renfrew being pretty flat . . . it could on a clear day be seen from a great distance; and, a good view of its fine proportions could be viewed by the passengers on the river steamers, and the railways on either bank of the Clyde, where it was noticed with admiration".¹⁵

It had come to symbolise Renfrew itself, acting as a talisman of the town's modernity that could be seen from the new conveyances of nineteenth century life that ran along the borders of the town's industrial strength. In view of this context, it is not surprising, perhaps, that the Town Council decided to take the opportunity to increase the height of the tower further during the rebuilding, as is discussed further in the following section.

Renfrew's town hall – an example amongst many – exhibits Foucault's theory idea of surveillance being a means to exert power. In this case, this display was required because of the threats to the power by other areas, and the Council's corresponding desire to be seen as the deserved county town, towering over the region; as a place of strong economy and energetic local government, and as an historic area that was aligned to and benefitted from ongoing aristocratic

patronage. To achieve this complex cocktail of power messages, the construction of the town hall embraced physical manifestations that would suggest messages of both change and permanence in the structures of local dominance.

This approach to the manifestation of power is expressed physically at the late twentieth century Lanark County Buildings, through a hugely dominant skyscraper. The administrative block is far taller than any other element, pointing to the change in the balance of power within local government: the technocrat's element of the town hall was now the most dominant element. It became the consistent talisman of the building: the first newspaper article covering the building in 1957 noted that it was "likely to be the highest [building] in Scotland . . . just 25 feet shorter than the Scott Monument in Edinburgh"¹⁶.

The architect Amos Rapoport also discusses how height has been used in Western cultures as a means to establish dominance: "in trying to establish prestige height is . . . a very commonly used cue", and Lanark is clearly subscribes to this with its impressive tower block.¹⁷ A less obvious understanding of the importance of height in establishing power is the positioning of the council chamber on a raised platform: where above-ground entry level of the main tower was necessary due to extensive rock formations below the surface, the same was not the case for the council chamber, which could have been placed at ground level and reached by a sloped corridor from the main block. Instead it is raised on a nondescript platform to ensure equal height with the rest of the council complex, so maintaining its position of power through its relative site in the building section.

As mentioned in Section 1, Rappoport also developed the idea of how redundant design features can be employed to imbue power. In nineteenth century town halls, redundancy might be indicated through the creation of a green space to its front elevation, as at George Square in Glasgow, for example.



Figure 4: Glasgow City Chambers in the background to George Square, shown as a semi-park setting in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Source: Undated postcard, author's collection.

At Lanark, redundancy is suggested by the extent of open space around the buildings in what was until then a nineteenth century industrial town, with all the heavy urban density implicated in that image. This is emphasised by the insertion of a shallow blue pond that runs almost the entire width of the plot and forms a band of redundant space right through the key open public area. The sensation of walking through these large scale empty areas is one of being subject to the forces of power, which become redolent in the town hall which is the ultimate destination.

The use of white mosaic tiles up to a full height of 200ft on both sides of the tower, where it is impossible for them to be seen by the naked eye, is another example, similar to the nineteenth century versions' extensive use of carved external stone work in similarly invisible locations.

Such profligate use of space and materials, together with the unprecedented height of Lanark County Buildings, manifested the power of its occupiers, in ways which were reinterpretations of earlier expressions of municipal power, equally effective in the modern era as they had been in the nineteenth century.

3 Demolition

As demonstrated in the above section, the height of the nineteenth century town hall's tower relative to that of other local power-holding bodies was a key indicator of the status of the local polity. In the twentieth century, the emphasis shifted to the provision of extensive external landscaped areas. In cases such as these, it was the extent of demolition necessary to create the town hall that was an indication of the power of the authorising body: the demolition of all structures within a 9 acre site in the nineteen sixties was deemed necessary for Paisley Civic Centre, although much of the space thus created was left vacant. The new open space, in a packed urban grid that was the gradual product of mercantile development from the Middle Ages, was as much a statement of power as that of Lanark's 13 storey tower block, completed in 1964. Similarly, at Dundee City Chambers, demolition of the much-loved eighteenth century town house in 1932 to create the new City Square was a means of demonstrating the overarching power of those within the City Council, when faced with opposition from both the citizens and representatives of central government. The Council needed to assert its power, to use Foucault's language, at both a local and national level to retain its position.

The context of the building of Dundee City Chambers is important to understanding its development. The Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1929 had begun the process of removing power at the most local level of the district councils and resettling it with the larger towns, while the Scottish Office, set up in 1885, provided a layer of oversight for local authorities that had not been present before. In addition, councils were now answerable to specialist governmental agencies with a national remit, where previously the response to United Kingdom-wide legislation had been formulated on a local basis, creating inevitable tensions between central and local government. In the case of Dundee, such power shifts were brought to a head through their negotiations with the Ancient Monuments Board over the construction of their new City Chambers in 1932.

The demolition of its eighteenth century Town House took place amidst strong opposition, from locals, design professionals, and the business community. The demolition was not necessary for the completion of the City Chambers scheme, but was felt necessary for its success by the Councillors, for reasons which are discussed in greater detail below.

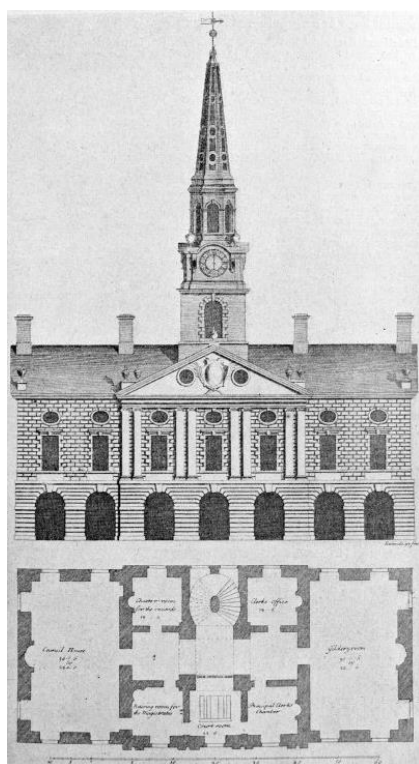


Figure 5: William Adam's Town House, front elevation and first floor plan.

Source: Plate 104 from the *Vitruvius Scoticus*, 1820, reproduced at SCRAN: Scran ID: 000-000-130-391-C.

It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of the Adam Town House - colloquially known as The Pillars - to the people of Dundee. This seven-bay, two storey and attic classical building by the father of the famous Adam brothers had been used as a symbol of the town's identity and economic prosperity in a wide range of ways since its construction in 1732. It featured on local eighteenth century tokens issued by industrial

works, shown below:¹⁸



Figures 6&7: Eighteenth century halfpenny and penny Dundee Tokens, with images of the Town House. The image to the rear changed according to the issuers' preference.

Source: SCRAN: Scran ID: 000-000-001-998-C and Scran ID: 000-000-001-995-C.

Its form was also used as a clock, as shown below in the example owned by National Museums Scotland. It is believed that a movement was installed in the spire of the model Town House, which could have been wound from the back.¹⁹ The clock is a large object, and considerable space would have had to have been made available for its display, suggesting that it may have occupied a prominent position in a domestic setting of someone wealthy enough to afford both a clock and a finely-detailed model to encase it. Clearly, the Town House was of immense symbolic value to its well-to-do owner.

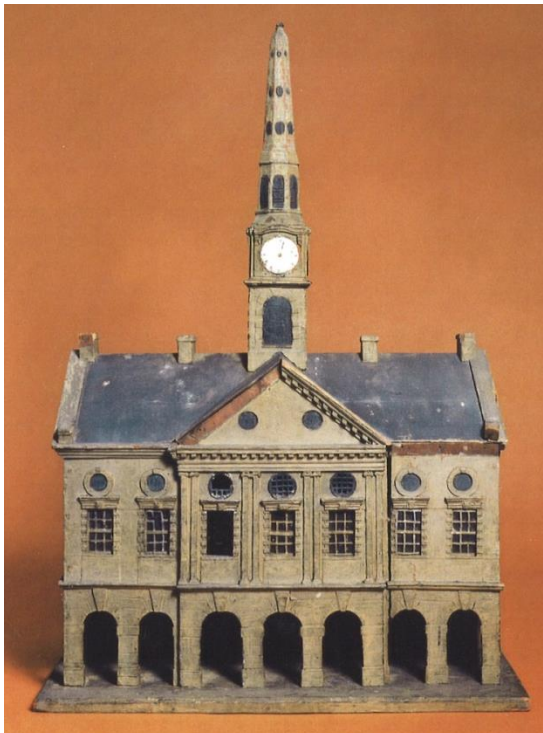


Figure 8: Nineteenth century watch stand in the form of Dundee Town House, Collection of National Museums Scotland, purchased from a private collector. The watch would have been placed in the spire.

Source: Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments.

Similar models of the Town House, albeit on a much larger scale, are found externally, dating to the period immediately after its demolition. These can be found at the Hoppo Hostel on the High Street, and at the Pillars Bar on Crichton Street; both of which are less than a minutes' walk from where the Town House once stood.



Figures 9&10: Models of the Pillars, found outside the Pillars Bar and the Hoppo Hostel respectively, central Dundee.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, November 18, 2014.

As can be seen from the examples above, the image of the Town House was used extensively to symbolise the town, its industry, and its government. Its distinctive shape and form were synonymous with the public concept of Dundee, as was clear from the newspaper discussions of the proposed demolitions at the time.

The public commenting on the proposed demolition began in 1922, when ideas for the City Chambers were still at a very formative stage, but the completion of the Caird Hall and the associated demolition work had stimulated a discussion on the potential for creating a Square leading to its front elevation, which would necessitate the demolition of the Town House. Poems were written to the local papers, pointing to The Pillars' historic and architectural value to the town, and the Letters pages of *The Dundee Courier* frequently received submissions on the subject of the Town House, praising its appearance.²⁰ An editorial described it thus: "Equally interesting from an educational and artistic viewpoint, our Dundee Town House would remain an expression of the civic life of the Scottish burgh in the 18th century."²¹

By far the most common value attributed to the Town House was personal. For Dundonians, the building was pivotal to their experience of living in the city. As one resident put it, "Nobody will miss the good Old Town House more than I, for I have known it for over three-quarters of a century and many the appointment I have made to meet at "The Pillars".²² Another, more recent resident noted: "I am not a very old Dundonian so far as years go, but I love my old town house . . . It belongs not only to us in Dundee, but to Dundonians all the world over."²³

The Town House was weaved into the traditions of the town, both as a meeting place and as the traditional place to begin a romantic encounter.²⁴ It served as the central gathering place for Dundee's Hogmanay, Scotland's celebration of New Year which is arguably more culturally important for Scots than Christmas. As the demolition of the Town House was confirmed in late December 1931, the building was, for want of a better expression, "waked" by the locals; the *Courier* noted that:

"it will not be by the hands of the Town House clock by which they [Dundonians] will time the ebbing life of the old year. This thought must have been brought to many in the huge crowd that assembled last night, wishful memories [sic] of other Hogmanay meetings at the familiar tryst with friends now far distant, who, no doubt, are also thinking longingly of Dundee's Old Town house and Pillars."²⁵

Its significance for Dundonians was thus architectural, aesthetic, social and cultural. When the demolition began on the 6th of January, it was "watched by hundreds of people from the High Street and the steps of the Caird Hall".²⁶

Initially, many of those within Dundee Council supported the views of the public.²⁷ By 1923, however, the potential demolition of the Town House was under discussion: in Council, Councillor Rev. Mr Davidson spoke in defence of the Town House: "the town is identified by the Pillars – those coming back to the town would not recognise it without the Pillars" and implored the Council

"to rise above these merely utilitarian and material things, . . . to think of history and artistic things, and to think of the city as a place, in spite of many drawbacks and difficulties, which might be made, as some of the ancient cities of the world were, not only a place of great commerce, but a place of great artistic beauty and value".²⁸

By 1930, however, it is clear that there the removal of the Town House was being seriously considered, although opinion was still very much split within the Council. In an undated note believed to be written by the Provost around February 1930 within Dundee Archive's file on the Town House, he wrote "I am in a difficulty about this matter. If the Town Council were unanimous or even practically unanimous in favour of the removal of the Old Town House I would know what course to recommend."²⁹

The Provost, indeed, seems to have been the strongest proponent of allowing the Town House to remain: he took it upon himself to write to the Pilgrim Trust to enquire unofficially of grant aid for its preservation, noting "I have a very strong feeling that if restored to its original state, the beautiful architecture of this old building would enhance the appearance of our new Civic Centre in Dundee."³⁰ The Council also agreed to a costly underpinning exercise in December 1931, only to change their minds three weeks later: Cllr Blackwood summing it up: "It was a fine old building . . . However I have changed my mind on this in the light of devastating reports [into the building's condition]".³¹

The reasoning behind the volte face revolved around certain of the Councillors' desire to demonstrate the Council's control over the destiny of Dundee. They wished to prove they held more power than central government, business interests or the city's design professionals, all of which were loud in their opposition to the demolition proposal.

The Dundee Institute of Architects passed a resolution in January 1932, stating that the

"town house is a building of outstanding Architectural interest and is, of its type, unique in Scotland; that the matter of its removal is now not merely of local but of national interest, and that it is desirable that every endeavour should be made to retain the building."³²

In more strident terms, the Chamber of Commerce noted that it had lodged a petition against the Town House's demolition with the Town Council in June 1915. Its Directors

"deplore[d] the apparent haste with which the operation of demolition was decided upon and is being carried in to effect. . . [it] should not be demolished until everything reasonable has been tried to preserve it for

future generations, and certainly not until the Town Council can feel that they have behind them the considered opinion of the majority of the citizens.”³³

While the local interests had been clear about their concerns about the Town House, the Ancient Monuments Board, which took a particular interest in Dundee, was loudest in its opposition. The Board was appointed by the Office of Works to oversee the protection of the built environment on behalf of the Scottish Office, itself operating as the agent of central government. Its particular responsibility was the enactment of the Ancient Monuments Consolidation Act of 1913, which brought in a more comprehensive system of scheduling of ancient monuments and buildings than had been in place before. The Board took a particular interest in the case of Dundee Town House.

From the instigation of the project onwards, the Ancient Monuments Board had been concerned about the future of the Town House within the scheme for the City Chambers. As early as July 19, 1915, the Town Clerk wrote to them to reassure it of the Council’s commitment to keeping the Town House, clearly in response to a query from it, and reiterated the same message in 1919 and 1927.³⁴

The Board retained an active interest in the building, however, and included the Town House on the list of Ancient Monuments in 1928.³⁵ In 1930, it wrote a report for the Office of Works on the building, where it detailed the importance of the building as follows:

“The Board wish to say that they were much impressed by the historic and aesthetic value of the building . . . it has been the focus of civic life ever since [construction] . . . The Board feel it to be a matter for great regret that in planning the improvement of the area behind it the Old Town House was not accepted as the key note of the design . . .”³⁶

The report prompted the Office of Works to seek assurance from the Council that they were not considering demolition,³⁷ which assurance they did not receive. This resulted in a visit from the Ancient Monuments Board in late December 1931, following on from which the Board formulated costs for the refurbishment of the Town House, and prepared sketch plans for how the Town House might appear in a revised scheme, reproduced below.³⁸

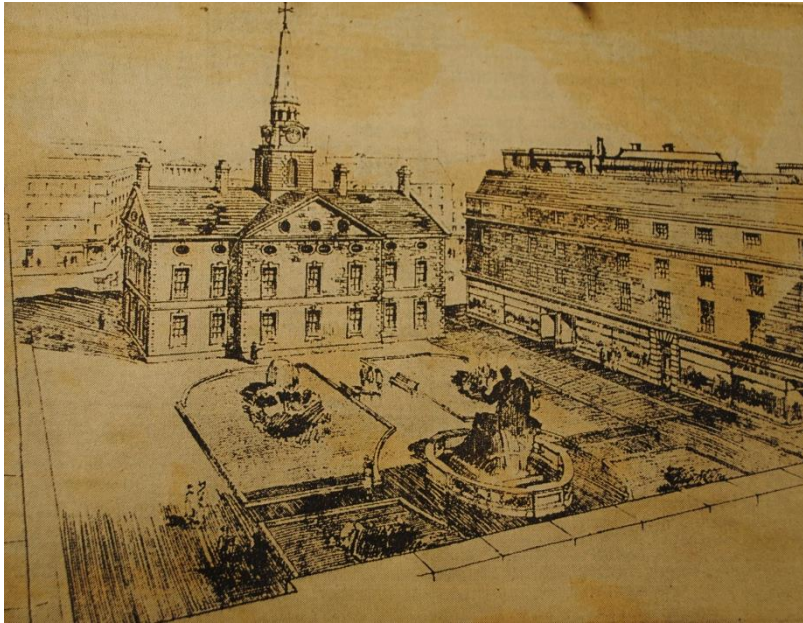


Figure 11: The scheme maintaining the Town House as part of the City Square, prepared by HM Office of Works Ancient Monuments Board. The view is taken from the roof of the Caird Hall.

Source: Collection of Dundee City Archive.

It also volunteered the time of its architects and engineers gratis to assist the Council in developing a refurbishment scheme. Most unusually, their Chairman, Sir John Maxwell, also wrote an open letter to the Council, republished in the *Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, where it wrote in inflammatory terms:

“They [Dundee Council] have come very near to depriving the Old Town House of the protection the law gives it and the citizens of any opportunity of expressing their opinion. . . May I . . . express the hope that the Town Council and citizens will, before agreeing that it is desirable to sweep away the old centre of their civic life and the most familiar feature of their high street, consider whether it would not be better, even at some expense, to return to the plan of incorporating the Old Town House in the new scheme of improvement?”³⁹

It seems that the very strength of opposition shown by the Ancient Monuments Board may have been a factor in the decision to demolish the Town House, by polarising the process of decision making. The exercise of the Board’s power to Schedule initiated the Council’s discontent, with their refusal to accept the Board’s decision that the Town House was worthy of Scheduling in 1928.⁴⁰ The Provost wrote in 1930 that

“the Town House is less than 200 years old and that to characterize is retention as of “national importance” is absurd; that the Community as represented by the Town Council who know the whole circumstances are

of opinion that it should be removed . . . A reference to the List of Ancient Monuments of Scotland appended to the Act of 1882 shows the kind of monument intended to be included. Not one has any resemblance to the Dundee Town House."⁴¹

Clearly the Council felt annoyed at the intervention, and chose to ignore their own legal advice, sought to guide them in their dealings with the Board - which counselled a strategy of "mixed law and discretion"⁴²- for a more forceful approach. Convenor Phin, who had overall responsibility for the City Square scheme, appears to have been most strongly affected by the interference of the Board: in a discussion regarding the City Square in 1930, he said to Council that "they should be in a position to decide whether or not the Old Town House was to come down, and not be interfered with by an outside body that did not know the future needs or conditions of Dundee."⁴³ Phin was not alone in wishing the Council to appear more powerful than the Board: the Provost noted in relation to the potential issuing of a Preservation Order, "Knowing the Town Council as I do the issuing of an Order by that body in London, without first allowing the Council to state their views, would make matters more difficult."⁴⁴

The issuing to the *Dundee Courier* by the Ancient Monuments Board of its letter to the Council seems to have had the effect of making their position even more entrenched: while earlier on in the process, the Council had been willing to allow the Town House to remain until the rest of the Square was completed and the overall effect could be appreciated, by the end of December 1931, the Council took decided action to remove the Town House. The Burgh Engineer repeated his earlier declaration to Council that its foundations were unstable. This had been reported a month earlier to Council, in a motion brought by Convenor Phin to force the demolition of the Town House: on that occasion, however, his motion was not passed. In December, the Burgh Engineer and two other experts added that the building was now unsafe, and in the words of Convenor Phin, it was a "case of urgent necessity".⁴⁵ Phin's use of this phrase was the means by which the Council could proceed with the demolition of the Town House without seeking permission from the Ancient Monuments Board: a loophole in the Ancient Monuments Act allowed for immediate demolition where there was an urgent issue of public safety. The motion passed unanimously, and when the Council was further challenged publically by the Board, Convenor Phin was asked in Council session, tellingly, if "the orders of the Town Council were being carried out" - if the demolition was underway - he responded "they were".⁴⁶ The

Council was reiterating its control over the fate of the Town House above all external influences.

The Council's position with regard to the instability of the Town House was openly challenged by the Ancient Monuments Board, who called it "not true". They pointed out that their concerns were "aroused by the peculiar circumstances which have suddenly forced the decision and the haste with which the old building has been condemned in the middle of the holiday season"⁴⁷ in the local newspaper. While it is not possible at this remove to judge which group of experts was correct in the assessment of the stability of the Town House, one can reflect on the likelihood of a building that has been stable for 200 years suddenly becoming dangerously unstable just at the time when its demolition was opportune and draw the most logical conclusion.

For Dundee Town Council, the creation of the City Chambers became inextricably linked with the demolition of the Town House. It was a fulsome exertion of their power over the built environment of Dundee, as well as their supremacy above local business interests, and more importantly, the Ancient Monuments Board as agents of national government. Power for Dundee Town Council was demonstrated as much in the absence of the town's eighteenth century linchpin as in the creation of the City Chambers: a new building or the extension of an existing one was not judged sufficient to indicate the Council's complete authority over the administration of Dundee.

The extent of demolition necessary for the completion of the Chambers is demonstrated in the images below, indicating the level of destruction to the urban grain necessary to complete the Council's vision:



Figures 12&13: Dundee Town House and environs in the late nineteenth century, and the same area in 1938.

Source: Town Plan Map Series: Dundee 1870 - LIV.9.5, and Fife and Kinross Sheet I.SW, revised: 1938, Collection of National Library of Scotland.

The perception of the town hall was now altered from the dense fabric of the medieval core of the city, to a setting within a wide open square. This created the same redundancy of space noted previously in relation to Lanark County Buildings, with a similar experience for the visitor of being subject to power.

Demolition was also a key strategy of demonstrating power for later twentieth century town halls, where even larger swathes of urban fabric than that at Dundee were commonly demolished to create sites for town halls. Examples include the 1957 Elgin Town Hall by William Kininmonth, and Brunton Hall and Municipal Offices, by Rowand Anderson Kininmonth & Paul, and completed in 1969. At the 1965 Motherwell and Wishaw Civic Centre by Wylie Shanks & Partners, shown below, two town centre blocks were demolished to make way for the new town hall.



Figures 14-17: Motherwell and Wishaw Civic Centre: main entrance, and street view showing the round chambers, and the site before and after demolition, as shown on aerial photographs.

Sources: <http://www.cosmicinspirocloud.com/post/112545077329/wylie-shanks-architects-motherwell-and-wishaw>, Author's photograph, site survey,

March 16 2013, Aerial Photo Mosaics of Scotland, 1944-50, National Library of Scotland collection, and <http://www.bing.com/mapspreview>.

The very large area created for the civic centre at Motherwell necessitated a considerable demolition of high density tenement accommodation, as well as the removal of a road. The civic centre buildings were placed back from the road, well within the confines of the site curtilage, to exhibit the full extents available to them for building. Once more, open space - created by demolition and illustrating redundancy of explicit purpose - was employed as a means of disrupting the flow of the urban experience, enforcing a sense of subjugation to the power of the town hall.

In these buildings, as at Paisley Civic Centre, the power message of demolition was about aligning the Council with an outward-looking vision of modernity, where the Council's technocrats held the balance of power. There, the building heights were kept deliberately low, both as an acknowledgement to the building height of the twelfth century Abbey and as one of the devices of the Late Modern style. The buildings are spread out to the margins of the very large site; using horizontality and widespread demolition instead of verticality as a means of expressing the power of local government outside of party political concerns, at a time when urban politics was a matter of strong public debate and central government intervention.

Throughout the development process of the Civic Centre, Paisley Town Council opposition politicians claimed that its construction was a political statement of power by the Labour Party, who remained the local and regional power-holders up to and following its completion. However, as the scheme developed in scope and cost, a series of prominent Labour party Councillors became loud in their public opposition to the plan, particularly Councillor Robert White, a Labour Councillor who had represented for 26 years in Paisley and who had initially led the scheme's development. He and three of the Town Council's Labour Treasurers, both retired and in post, were also outspoken challengers of the scheme.⁴⁸ If the Civic Centre had been intended as a symbol of Labour's supremacy in the region, it could be expected that the party's representatives would be unanimous in their support for the construction scheme, particularly as public perception of the project steadily worsened as the project progressed.⁴⁹ Instead they were amongst its most vocal opposition. As will be seen from the arguments developed below, a more convincing case is made for the civic centre's being a statement of administrative, rather than political power.

In 1955, *The Evening Times* reported that Paisley was nearer to fulfilling "the ambition of every local authority in Scotland" through their plans to rid the town of slums, with the demolition of 19 acres, or 888 homes contained within tenemented properties at the centre of the town. The replacement six blocks of 15 storey flats would have "special drying cupboards and refuse chutes".⁵⁴ *The Glasgow Herald* commented that Paisley was showing "considerable enterprise" in building in the central area, and noted that it was "giving a lead [to other local authorities] in addressing their minds to the physical and technical problems involved".⁵⁵ The Council-produced *Paisley Industrial Handbook* commented that the development would "make Paisley the envy of other Scottish towns whose Victorian hearts are cramped and constricted".⁵⁶

Comprehensive demolition was not only viewed as the solution for housing problems. Paisley engaged in substantial road realignment programme during the 1960s, resulting in the Paisley Expressway, which ran through the core of the town and necessitated further widespread demolition. The Burgh Engineer, writing in *The Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette* about the proposed new road network, remarked that a "completely new approach" was necessary to traffic management in the town centre, and that the historic "form of development must now be considered as obsolete": a definitive public pronouncement.⁵⁷

So married was Paisley to the idea of large scale demolition that it formed a special Sub-Committee to aggregate potential sites for major future developments in 1966. A local Councillor commented "The days of knocking down small bits of properties . . . here and there around the town are over. This step should have been taken years ago".⁵⁸

It followed that when the decision for demolition of the vast civic centre area was put before the Council – the reasoning being its "bad layout and obsolete development" – approval was unanimous.⁵⁹ For Paisley in the nineteen fifties and sixties, demolition of large areas of the town centre was part of the town's identity as a progressively-led municipal centre, led by a local authority which was at the very forefront of modern thinking on physical development. An overly-large site for the Civic Centre perfectly symbolised the Council's position at the vanguard of Scottish towns.

The extent of the site was a particular expression of Paisley Town Council's contemporary preoccupation with proving itself as forward-thinking – large-scale demolition had become as much a part of Paisley's identity as its thread mills. It enabled the Council to build an extremely large set of premises for it and its

partners, which together embodied power in a highly visible site. The change in the urban grain, from tightly-packed nineteenth century streets to a large-scale open site with just three building complexes perched in the centre, similarly indicated the change of image to a modern council, where the buildings become, as Habermas suggests, a means of bedding in a new system of power. Like Dundee, it was able to use the construction of its new building as an opportunity to demonstrate power, both to local residents and central government.

4 Location

As well as the value of open space in the expression of power discussed above, space can also provide significance through its location, where the siting of a building can indicate the power of one group over another at a particular period when they are in the ascendancy and Foucault's power network is in flux. Open space can also be used to create a sense of a hierarchy of power in the citizen, as Lefebvre suggests, where previous buildings and structures are used as cues to inculcate a sense of continuity and associational power to the new building.

Michael Weinstein describes the conversion of culturally or socially important spaces into organisational spaces that serve one particular group as a form of coercion, as it takes the existing associations of an area and appropriates them for the new structure.⁶⁰ This is very common in the construction of this building type.

Nineteenth century town halls were frequently located in close proximity to the mercat cross, as is discussed in further detail in Chapter 5 with relation to Burntisland Town Hall, but was also the case at 1868 Aberdeen Town House by Peddie and Kinnear, and Inverness Town House by Matthews & Lawrie and dating to 1878, amongst others. It was also common to place a new town hall in the same location as a previous town hall or Corn Exchange, in a direct appropriation of the imbued associations of governmental or mercantile power already inherent in the site, as at Falkirk Town Hall by William Black in 1879 (demolished), Renfrew Town Hall and the 1850 Crieff Town Hall (Architect unknown).

Into the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the value of the existing location was still relevant, with a growing tendency to extend the existing provision rather than demolish the predecessor, as at Saltcoats Town Hall, built by Howie and Walton in 1892, the 1905 Dingwall Town Hall by WC Joas in 1905 and Ardrossan Civic Centre, by Robert Rennie & Watson in 1972. On occasions

when the pre-existing town hall is not demolished but maintained for ceremonial purposes while the main element of function is transferred to a new building, a town location close to the dominant industries is preferred, as at the 1931 Ayr County Buildings by Alexander Mair and Motherwell Civic Centre by Peter Williams in 1965.

The experience of the citizen in these spaces, to use Lefebvre's language, was one of heightened power by association. The consistent choice of site to maximise this value points to the importance those commissioning town halls placed on the location as a means of harnessing locally-held power in the face of competing forces, particularly when a change in power holder was to be indicated.

Location can also be used as a tool for creating citizens who acknowledge the Council as source of power, by facilitating a position of observation and an awareness of being observed, as described in Section 1 in relation to Foucault's panopticon. Both elements of location as power are demonstrated at Burntisland Town Hall. Local power in Burntisland underwent a fundamental change in the early years of the nineteenth century, when aristocratic power was replaced with democratic power. This was as a result of what amounted to a non-violent revolt by the local merchants, as well as the changes in electoral process and burgh formation -outlined in Chapter 1 - that saw more democratic voting practices and broader self-governing powers introduced in the early years of the nineteenth century. The change in the controlling power source at local level can be tracked through an examination of the position of the nineteenth century Town Hall and its eighteenth century predecessor – known as the Town House – relative to the town and harbour. This reveals a move away from the surveillance of the local Laird and the water-based economy, towards a more balanced range of economic producers, encompassing the retail functions of the town and the increasing tourist industry, based in the centre of the town.

The John Wood plan of Burntisland, published in 1824 and reproduced below as Figure 17, shows the eighteenth century Town House at the extreme east end of the High Street, outwith the building lines of the street in an isolated situation that would have immediately identified it as the most important structure one came upon when entering the town from the sea. As shown on the plan, its location on a prominent sightline from the harbour is confirmation that Burntisland's marine industry was considered the most important facet of the town's eighteenth century self-image: the main road approach to the town is from

the west, on an axis which would have made it impossible to see the town hall until the visitor was on the High Street, and thus in the town proper. This suggests that those visitors not involved in water-based trade were not expected to have immediate need of the Burgh Council when carrying out their business; implying that their business was not of great importance to the town.

The location of the Town House is the central hub between the Dry Dock to the south end of the harbour, the market cross marking the middle of the High Street, and Rossend Castle: the home of Lord Melville. Sir Robert, later Lord Melville, claimed that the Burgh lands between the Castle and the sea belonged to him, and agitated with King James VI to have the town disenfranchised, so that he could claim the lands back. Despite his actions against the Burgh, he was elected Provost of Burntisland from 1588 to 1599, from 1604 to 1606 and from 1618 to 1632.⁶¹ The Town House was built during this last period and it can be safely assumed he was intimately connected with its construction.

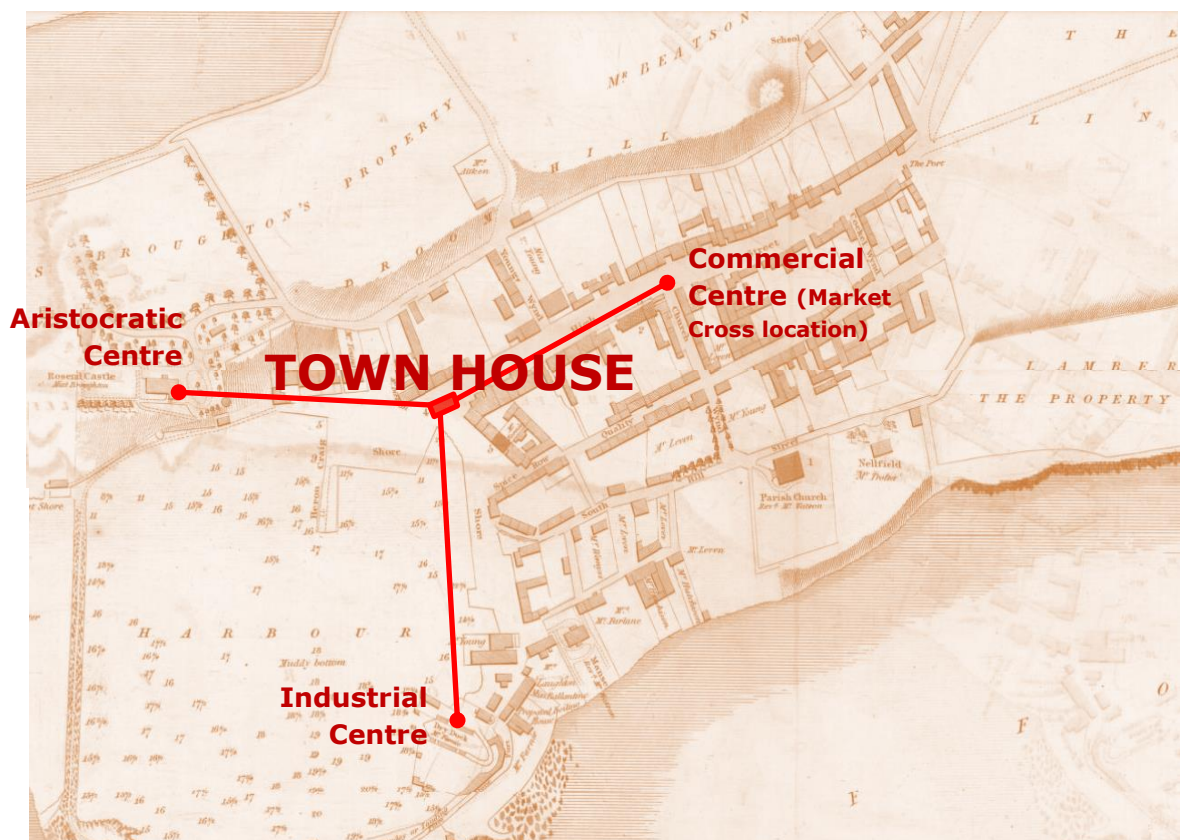


Figure 19: The eighteenth century Burntisland Town House (outlined in red), at the centre of all three sources of power in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Source: Author's diagrammatic overlay on John Wood, Plan of Burnt-Island, 1824, image courtesy of Burntisland Heritage Trust.

The standalone design of the Town House, situated in the middle of the thoroughfare, meant that it stood apart physically from both the industrial and retail functioning of the town, and was in a position to allow the observance of both from its vantage point at the top of the High Street and overlooking the harbour. The lack of a physical tie to either industry via proximity or building line may have proved useful in maintaining an accord between the competing forces of aristocracy, industry and retail interests.

The building's position, in the centre of the street, meant that business being transacted there could be passively observed at all three locations from an equal distance. By placing the building equidistant between the three sources of power in Burntisland's local government, the Town House was describing how control was distributed in the locality from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, and creating a highly visible power source in the middle of the thoroughfare, that could not be ignored.

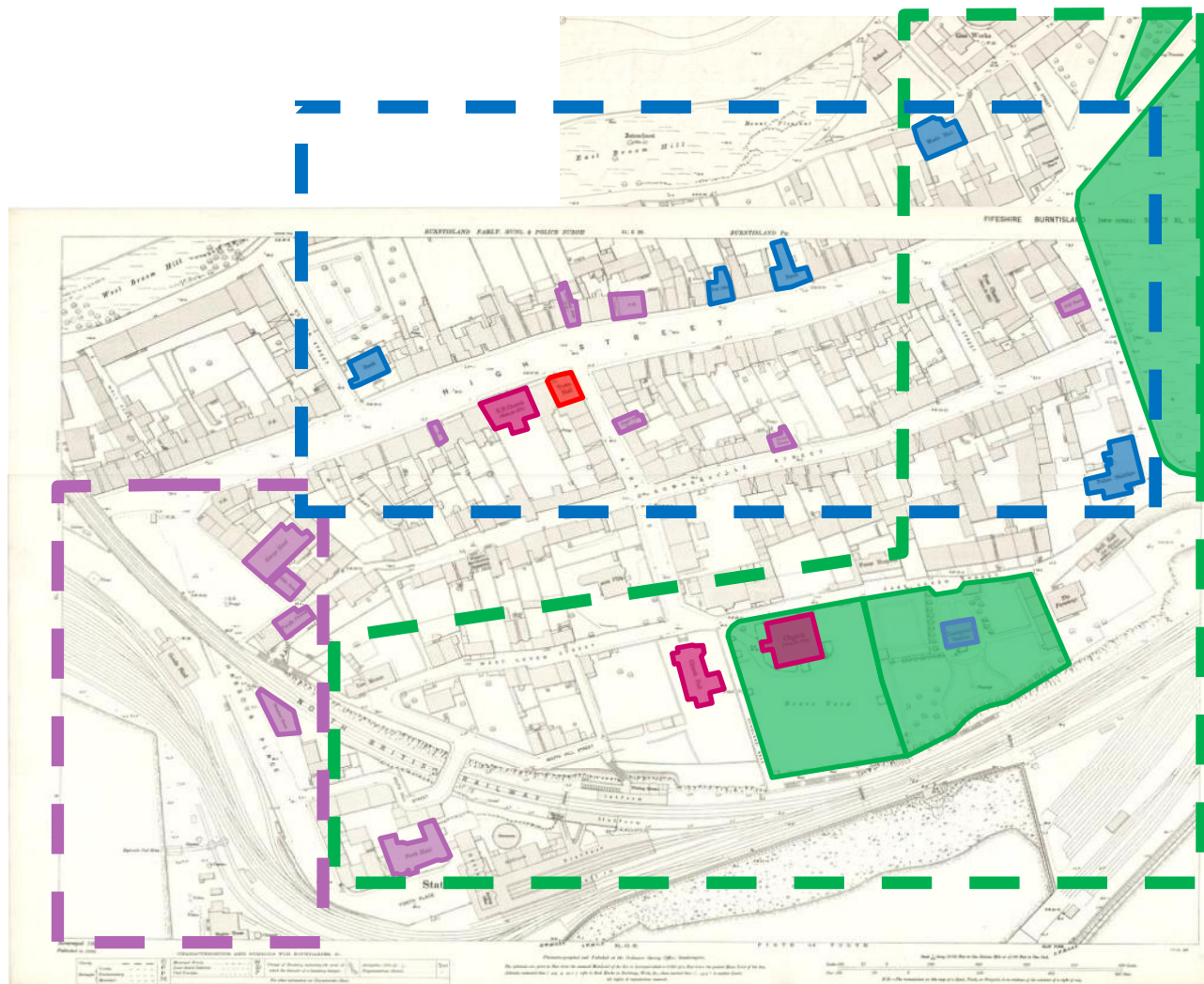
Similar to the Town House, the new Town Hall at Burntisland functions as a link in the network of power between the industrial strength of the harbour to the west, and the commercial power of the town to the east. Those buildings to the west and south of the Town Hall, along the harbour's edge, including dry docks, warehouses and merchants' houses, serviced the industrial power base only. To the east - both north and south of the town hall - were concentrated residential, commercial and religious functions.



Figure 20: View of Burntisland High Street, taken c.1901: prior to the Town Hall extension and the removal of the upper portion of the tower. The Town Hall is to the right midground, coloured red.

Source: Author's overlay on photograph believed to have been taken by Andrew Young, circa late nineteenth century, Collection of Burntisland Heritage Trust.

Unlike its predecessor, it conformed to the existing street line, and was attached on two sides, losing the immediate physical distinction owned by the Town House. The curve of the High Street meant that the building is not readily distinguished from the rest of the streetscape, and though its tower might be taken as an identifying feature of any town hall, its design in this instance is so close to a church steeple as to make it indistinguishable from a distance, as shown in Figure 18 above. The Town Hall was thus conceived as a part of the urban fabric, not separate or aloof from it in the way of its predecessors. This positioning drew attention to the nature of its power source from the common electorate: its neighbours on the High Street, which the building stood amongst.



Key

- Burntisland Town Hall
- Civic and Quasi-Civic Buildings
(Music Halls, Banks, Post-Office, Police Station etc)
- Churches
- Hotels/Inns
- Publicly-Accessible Green Space

- [] Civic Zone
- [] Tourism/Leisure Zone
- [] Harbour Industry Zone

Figure 21: Building usage and function zones in Burntisland, c. 1894.

Source: Author's diagrammatic overlay on Ordnance Survey Town Plan map of 1894, National Library of Scotland collection.

Instead of following the positioning of the Town House at a point equidistant between the centre of the High Street, Rossend Castle, and the harbour, the Town Hall is placed at the exact centre of the High Street. This indicated where

the Burgh Council considered it most important to have the site of local government by 1843: centrally located in the midst of the newly-expanded electorate, as shown in Figure 19 above. Its positioning at the very heart of the High Street, and thus of the town, may have encouraged the establishment of other businesses in the area with a quasi-civic function. Two banks and a post office were established later in close proximity to the Town Hall, which, together with the two churches on the High Street, formed the civic core to the town.

The 1824 plan shows a town with no civic functioning-buildings further east than the Town hall. By contrast, the above 1894 Ordnance Survey Large Scale Town Plan shows a far more developed civic concern in the town. The concentrated civic group of the Town Hall, Post Office, Music Hall and Police Station is located far from the harbour, indicating a change of focus for the citizens, away from the image of the town as one predominantly engaged with harbour industry and its associated commerce towards the idea of Burntisland as a place of other industries, most notably tourism.

Guide books and country surveys of the nineteenth century lay particular emphasis on the tourism industry. As early as 1811, one commented that the town had “for a number of years been a place of favourite resort during the summer months for sea-bathing”.⁶² By 1861, the Parochial Directory had recorded a “number of handsome cottages for summer visitors toward the east”, indicating the move away from the docks to the west during this later period.⁶³

The area to the east of the harbour had been redeveloped to allow access from the train line, completed in 1847. This encouraged the development of a new hotel beside the train station. This had large bay windows for viewing from, and together with its proximity to Burntisland Beach suggests it may have been built predominantly for those holidaying in Burntisland. The south east area of the town also housed two churches and the large, possibly publicly-accessible formal gardens of the Coastguard station. Following the road leading up the north east of the town would lead visitors to the newly-laid out Links and the Music Hall.

Together, these facilities provided a substantial tourist offer around the hinterland of the town. The High Street provided the focus for civic life, centred around the new Town Hall.

It is notable that while this civic function continued to the extreme east end of the town through the provision there of the Music Hall and Police Station, there are no buildings of a similar function at the west end of the town, in proximity to

the harbour. Instead, this area is served by a profusion of inns and small-scale hotels and is largely isolated from the rest of the town by the railway line. The Town House, which once marked the power of the harbour area, was demolished in 1845.

The nineteenth century Town Hall was not physically connected with the harbour in the way that its predecessor had been, marking this industry as a source of power in the town. Neither could it have been surveyed from Rossend Castle, whose Laird was no longer a local powerholder. Instead, its location marked it out as the civic centre of the town, whose interests were no longer so heavily invested in the harbour, but had expanded to include new industries reliant on land use as much as water. Its central position catalysed the construction of similarly civic buildings in a surrounding cluster, and in so doing redefined the changed nature of local power through its location.

The example at Burntisland is the most pointed example amongst the case study buildings of the use of location to heighten the power of the town hall above others in the town. It is also a factor in all other locations studied; particularly where there is a historic association with the chosen site. This is the case at Renfrew and Paisley, as is discussed in the following chapter. Location not only claims power through physicality, as suggested by Habermas, but also sets out the means for awareness of power by creating an interaction between various power holders that can be read by the citizens.

5 Conclusions

This chapter has investigated the power of town halls in two ways: what form the expression of power takes, and the nature of the power relationship being expressed.

On a physical level, the communication of power is simple to quantify. The excessive size of such buildings, both vertically and horizontally, together with the use of lavish materials all speak clearly to a message of power, as is noted particularly at the nineteenth century Renfrew Town Hall. Perhaps less obviously though, the absence of building can also be used to indicate power, where demolition comes to have a cultural significance that carries its own weight. This is a dominant feature of the twentieth century Dundee City Chambers and Paisley Civic Centre.

As noted at the earliest case study building of the 1844 Burntisland Town Hall, location can also indicate a change in power structure. By moving the town hall into the heart of the town, the Burgh Council indicated a rupture from aristocratic control and its associated abuses that reflected the wider changes in suffrage and involvement in politics. The increase in democratic control of local government is affirmed by the new siting of its building within the urban setting of the people it serves, rather than under the surveillance of the Laird, reflecting the importance of location in establishing the citizens' experience of power.

The power of town halls is thus extremely varied in demonstration, and manifested in the permanent language of architecture and space, where the reaction to it is experienced by the urban dweller on an ongoing basis. Power is not limited to physical form and location, however, and a will to manifest it underlies all other themes explored in this thesis.

As well as the universal themes of civic space and power described in this and the proceeding Chapter, town halls were also intended to link into local culture, by manifesting the concerns of the day in built form. As will be examined in Chapter 4, history was a key means of achieving this goal of creating a town hall of a distinctly local identity, tethering the building to the broader urban setting.

¹ Jürgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis*, vol. 519 (Beacon Press, 1975), 35.

² Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge*, (London: Penguin, 1998), 63.

³ Henri Lefebvre, trans. [Donald Nicholson-Smith](#), *The Production of Space*, (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 1991).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Michel Foucault, "Governmentality", in G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 85–103

⁶ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 93–4.

⁷ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life: Living and Cooking. Volume 2* (University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

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¹⁷ Rapoport, *The Meaning of the Built Environment*, 118.

¹⁸ Provincial tokens were copper coins of the correct weight for halfpenny and one penny coins made by industrial works to pay their staff with in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Their creation was prompted by a lack of official coins and they soon became collectors’ items, as well as advertising the maker. Their production was halted by central government in 1797.

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²⁹ This note is amongst other papers from February 1930. The typeface matches other letters identified as being from the Provost’s office and the contents of the note suggest it is from him.

³⁰ Dundee Lord Provost, Letter to the Pilgrim Trust, February 25, 1930, Collection of Dundee City Archives.

³¹ Editorial, “Dundee’s Old Town House: Problem with £11,200 in the balance”, *The Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, December 5, 1931, 5; Editorial, “Town House to Demolished”, *The Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, December 29, 1931, 5.

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³³ Dundee Chamber of Commerce, Letter to Town Clerk, January 28, 1932, Collection of Dundee City Archives.

³⁴ “Fate of Town House in Balance: Move by Ancient Monuments Board”, *The Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, January 9, 1932, 5; Dundee Town Clerk, letter to the Secretary, Ancient Monuments Board, March 14, 1927, Collection of Dundee City Archives.

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- ³⁵ Dundee Town Clerk, letter to the Secretary, HM Office of Works, March 19, 1928, Collection of Dundee City Archives. This letter refers to a previous letter of January 26 from Ancient Monuments Board, adding the Town House to the List of Ancient Monuments.
- ³⁶ Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland, "Report", April 19, 1930, Collection of Dundee City Archives.
- ³⁷ Secretary, HM Office of Works, letter to Dundee Town Clerk, April 22, 1930, Collection of Dundee City Archives.
- ³⁸ Editorial, "Fate of Old Dundee Town House: Intervention by Ancient Monuments Board", *The Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, December 29, 1931, 1; Editorial, "Special Meeting of the Corporation", *The Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, December 30 1931, 1.
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- ⁴⁰ Dundee Town Clerk, letter to the Secretary, HM Office of Works, March 19, 1928, Collection of Dundee City Archives.
- ⁴¹ As per note 21 above, this note is amongst other papers from February 1930. The typeface matches other letters identified as being from the Provost's office and the contents of the note suggest it is from him.
- ⁴² Morton, Stewart, MacDonald and Prosser, letter to Dundee Town Clerk, April 16, 1930, Collection of Dundee City Archive.
- ⁴³ "Future of Dundee City Square", *The Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, February 21, 1930, 10.
- ⁴⁴ Lord Provost, Letter to Sir John Maxwell, April 10, 1930, Collection of Dundee City Archives.
- ⁴⁵ Special Meeting of Dundee City Council, December 30, 1931, Collection of Dundee City Archives.
- ⁴⁶ Editorial, "Fate of Dundee Old Town House: Full responsibility left with corporation", *The Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, January 22, 1932, 1.
- ⁴⁷ Editorial, "Fate of Town House in Balance: Move by Ancient Monuments Board", *The Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, January 9, 1932, 5.
- ⁴⁸ Editorial, "Million Pound Paisley Council "House"", *The Paisley & Renfrewshire Gazette*, January 13, 1961, 1.
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- ⁵⁶ Paisley Town Council, *Paisley, the Official Industrial Handbook*, (Paisley: Paisley Town Council, 1965), 30.
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Chapter 4 – The Use of History in Creating the Image of Local Government

Contents

1	Introduction	140
2	The Use of the Past to Support the Present: Theories of Heritage Appropriation	141
3	The Curation of the Past: Dundee City Chambers and Kirkcaldy Town House 143	
4	Burntisland and Renfrew Town Halls: Look Old to Look Young	154
5	The Future Manifest: Lanark County Buildings	170
6	Conclusions	179

1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined how town halls were used to manifest power and assist in its transition between those in and those out of control of the urban environment. This chapter explores how the architecture of the town hall can also be used to justify power through links with historical authority and through the evocation of romantic associations and nostalgia.

The history of a town or region plays an important role in defining its self-image.¹ As a civic building, the town hall is necessarily concerned with creating a positive set of associations with the local authority by drawing a connection with a lineage of other authorities to present to the citizens, and it follows that its history might be considered a suitable resource in this endeavour. Depending on the concerns of the burgh, town or county council, the town hall could align them with either of the historic governmental lineage of the town in an effort to legitimise itself through claiming continuity of service, or with a more forward-looking narrative, embracing modernity in a bid to appear progressive and dynamic.

Contrary to expectations, this vision is not one that is exclusively created by style, although it is a major factor in helping to define the local identity of town halls, as this chapter will demonstrate. More commonly, the image is the result of layers of references - designed into the decorative schemes, painted forms, architectural detailing, and sculpture - that work together in linking to the past or hinting to the future, to create a dense scheme of symbolic references that affirm the power of those commissioning the building.

The portrait thus created reflects the context of the locality more than perhaps any other aspect of town halls. Giving form to abstract and general ideas such as power and ritual are consistent requirements for all town halls across time and geography, and are discussed in Chapters 3 & 5 respectively, but the perception of the local authority at any given time is a particularly fragile, almost ephemeral concept. The image the town hall creates when completed is therefore a particularly valuable snapshot in the social history of a town or region.

This chapter examines how town halls could use a variety of visual indicators to build up the meaning of the building, suitable for the time and environment in which it was constructed. It looks at how historical references are manipulated to shape the narrative of the local authority in a way that is palatable to local concerns, and how forms associated with the modern are similarly adapted to

create a story of the future with local authority at its heart. Finally, it explores the success of these strategies in creating an image of local government that is accepted by the citizens.

2 The Use of the Past to Support the Present: Theories of Heritage Appropriation

Eric Hobsbawm's writing on the invention of tradition leads the exploration of how heritage is used to convey ideas to the present. He defines three goals for the use of heritage:

1. Establishing or symbolising social cohesion or membership of groups, real or artificial communities;
2. Establishing or legitimizing institutions, status, or relations of authority; and
3. Where the main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour.²

All of these outcomes can be said to be aims of those building town halls, where the aim was to ensure the agreement of the citizens to the new or expanded form of local government, and by so doing guarantee their acquiescence in local government.

In relation to the use of symbols, such as town crests, flags and the Provost's Chair, Hobsbawm notes that they have an "undefined universality" – their exact meaning is undefined and open to interpretation.³ He recognises this as a facet of newly-created aspects of heritage, such as those manifested in town halls of the nineteenth century in particular. Those in local government were quick to appropriate symbols of previous administrations to shore up their legitimacy, without an exact sense of what value or connection was being ascribed. As is discussed in Section 4, for example, the Councillors building Burntisland Town Hall chose to rehouse the bell of the eighteenth century Town House, which had been cast for another local authority entirely, having been bought second hand by the Burntisland Council. Renfrew Town Hall was built in the Scots Baronial style, borrowing the language of the buildings of an independent Scotland without any intention of seeking self-government. For these builders, such appropriations, in the words of Graham et al, conveyed "ideas of timeless values and unbroken lineages that underpinned identity".⁴ The historic significance of these associations was universally positive, without the necessity of a close

definition, and in the case of some buildings, as is discussed in Section 5, it is used to convey an entirely modern message.

Michael Billig emphasises the importance of their frequent repetition in a building: he theorises that it is the very banality of such symbols that works to re-enforce people's identification with them.⁵ This theory is particularly relevant in relation to Kirkcaldy Town House, discussed in Section 3, where a number of symbols of unclear meaning are repeated throughout the Town House's decoration – as shown in Figures 8-16. Their meaning is not clearly interpreted and yet they are visible on wall surfaces, ceilings, furniture and even within the flooring. According to Billig, this is a deliberate attempt to remind the citizens of their identity with the town, and with the Town House as its civic manifestation.

Laurajane Smith theorises that not only objects, but buildings can be considered as having a significance beyond their static bricks and mortar presentation through a "sense that memory is somehow locked within or embedded in the fabric". In foundation stone laying ceremonies, for example, there is frequent discussion about of significant events that have taken place within the previous town hall, or important people who have visited. She suggests that this aids the process of legitimization for the new building through making the values of a place appear "inherent", creating a stabilising effect for an administration that had been hitherto uncertain.⁶

Borrowing of the legitimacy of other sites is frequent with town halls: at Dundee City Chambers, for example, the distinct form of the eighteenth century Town House was copied to create the front entrance, and images of the town house are replicated throughout the building. At Paisley Civic Centre, the neighbouring Paisley Abbey was used as a focal point of the site, around which the town and county council buildings were arranged.

All of the above theories point to a desire on the part of local authorities to link to the past: using its power to create a sense of nostalgia, according to Smith, which fosters "feelings of belonging and continuity", as Lowenthal puts it.⁷ It follows then, that where history is deliberately ignored, as is almost entirely the case of Lanark County Buildings, the local authority is seeking to communicate a break from tradition. In this case, the past becomes a reflection of what the Council does not want to be, and the choice of a modernist style is an expression of supreme confidence of an authority that does not need the legitimisation of history for its success.

3 The Curation of the Past: Dundee City Chambers and Kirkcaldy Town House

In creating their image to present to the world, the 1932 Dundee City Chambers and the 1956 Kirkcaldy Town House followed a selective approach in employing historical associations. This was to ensure their buildings were seen as a continuation of an ongoing narrative of local government control, trading on the ambiguity and generality of symbols to elicit out positive sentiments for their constructions.

For Dundee City Chambers, it might be assumed that the Council would not try to link the City Chambers to the recently-demolished 1732 Town House, discussed in Chapter 3. One could expect that the Town House would not feature at all in the symbolic decorative scheme of the new City Chambers. This is not the case, however: a painted image of it forms the central section in the main stained glass window in the staircase hall, positioned to be the most prominent feature at eye level as one ascends the stairs.

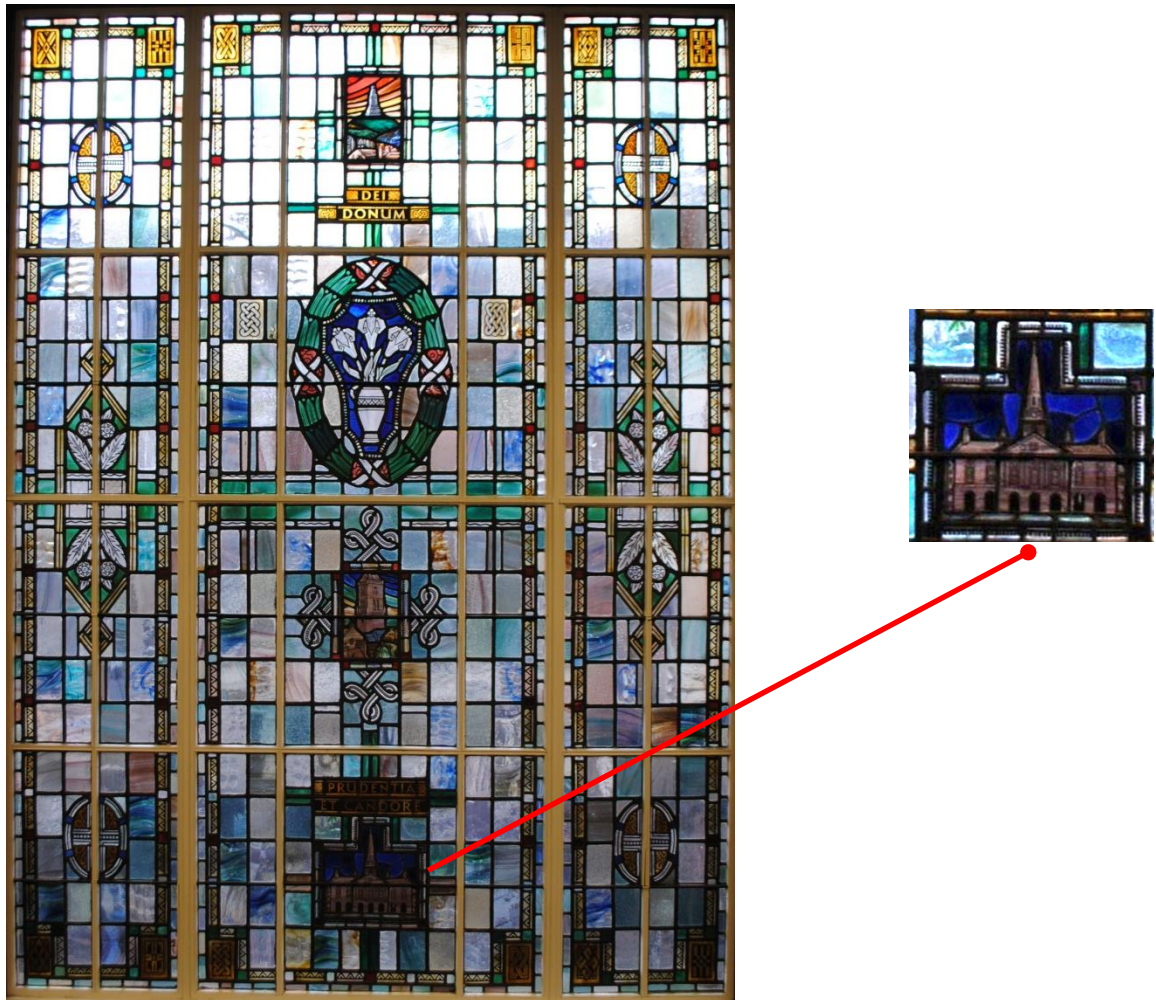


Figure 1: Stained glass window in the staircase hall at Dundee City Chambers, completed in 1932. The Town House is visible as the bottom image in the central section, enlarged to the right of the main image.

Source: Author's photograph, site survey, November 18, 2014.

The Town House is also memorialised in a bronze plaque outside the Chambers, facing onto the Square, and in a brass model, which forms the centrepiece of the Provost's meeting table. It is repeated as a motif on what is known as a "ticket box" in the possession of Provost: an ornate silver box, used to hold one's "ticket", or Freedom of the City, as shown below: an object of high symbolic value in defining the local notion of the civic.



Figures 2-4: Images of the eighteenth century Town House in the new City Chambers: an external plaque, an ornamental sculpture, and a "ticket" box. The latter two date to the late nineteenth century, while the former was inset into the exterior wall of the new Chambers in 1932.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, November 18, 2014.

Clearly, Dundee's Councillors were so wedded to the legitimacy of the demolition that they implied no potential for negative associations with using its image as a recurring motif in the completed Chambers. For them, the Town House had become disassociated from its role as a functioning civic building, becoming instead a dead artefact from a past era, evocative of Old Dundee and suitable for use as decoration, rather than as a reminder of a highly unpopular destruction of the city's premier civic space.

This theory gains credence from the Councillors' unwillingness to reuse the six existing stained glass windows from the old Town House in the new City Chambers room. When the matter was debated in Council, the windows were described as "well worthy of preservation for historical, sentimental and decorative reasons, but the ideal place in which to preserve and display them

would be a museum” – like the Town House, the stained glass had no current value for the Council, other than its historic associations, from which the Council wished to distance itself physically. The windows “could not be brought into harmony with their surroundings in a modern building”, where they “would give an impression merely of dirty glass”. Instead, suggestions were made for their placement in back corridors, where they “would beautify a long, cold corridor”. The Councillors preferred to give the “glorious chance” of designing new stained glass to Alex Russell of the Dundee College of Art, who prepared the historical scenes shown below for the City Chamber, none of which depicted events later than the seventeenth century.⁸



Figure 5: The stained glass cartoons prepared for Dundee Council Chamber by Alex Russell.

Source: SCRAN: SCRAN ID 000-000-191-575-C.

This seemingly arbitrary value judgement on the correct historic distance for glazed commemoration may have been because of the Councillors’ wish not to appear hypocritical: they had argued publically that the Town House could not be an Ancient Monument worthy of preservation, as it was not yet 200 years old when demolished.⁹ The panels reflected their stated view that history worth recording happened well beyond living memory and did not impact directly on the town’s current culture. Such an approach recalls Judi Loach’s view that such decorative evidence can be used to understand the contemporary viewpoint of those visiting the town hall at the time of construction: the Council were redefining the city’s narrative to exclude controversial episodes or references that might provoke negative associations, leaning heavily on periods outside

living memory to provide legitimacy for the present.¹⁰ This is echoed in the two paintings commissioned for the entrance hall in 1932, shown below:



Figures 6&7: The Makars of Dundee, by Gregory Lange, 1932.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, November 18, 2014.

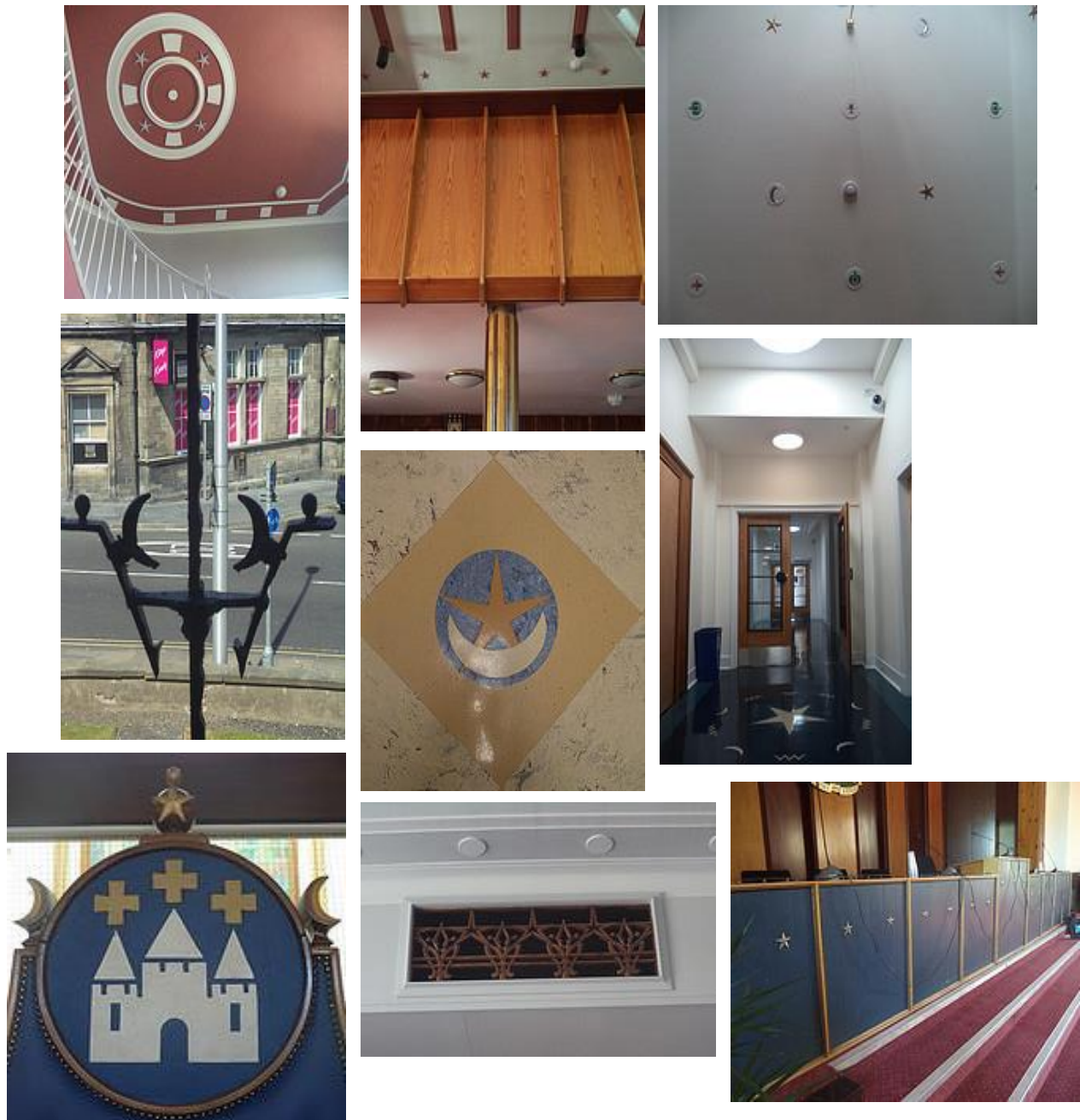
These paintings, called the 'Makars of Dundee', are by Gregory Lange, a local artist, and depict notable personalities in the history of Dundee, as well as personifications of the principal industries of jute, flax, shipbuilding and whaling: all of which are shown in medieval costume, with the notable exception of the depiction of Queen Victoria, who was the only representative of the recent past within the City Chambers.

The design and decoration of the Chambers deliberately ignored Dundee's more recent past to concentrate on events from the medieval era. This allowed the building to place itself outside of the controversy its construction had created through the Council's disregard for its key eighteenth century architecture. Instead it presented a sanitised version of the city's past through its selective approach to the City's history as decoration.

A similarly selective approach is evident in Kirkcaldy Town House, designed in 1936, where the use of local culture and history to create the new image of the local authority was a mixture of the nineteenth century representational style and a new, more abstract means of expression, contained within a highly-restrained Scandinavian Modern classical building.

Kirkcaldy's architects David Carr and William Howard took their main decorative motif - a crescent moon and five-pointed star - from an alternate version of the town's crest that was all but unknown locally. As shown below, the crescent moon and stars are visible throughout the building: on circular plaster ceiling bosses, metal brackets, ventilation grilles, leatherwork boxing in for the Council

seating, set into linoleum. Externally, the crescent moon is seen atop the specially-commissioned lamp standards and on metal decorative finishes such as railings and balconettes.



Figures 8-16: Use of the star and crescent moon motifs, examples from throughout Kirkcaldy Town House. Note the building has been newly refurbished (2013), however the linoleum floor coverings are exact replicas of their predecessors.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, July 11, 2014.

The use of the moon and star, far from linking the building with the town's history, succeeded in causing a public controversy. When the lamp standards were erected, the crescent moon was misinterpreted as a symbol of Islam and Asian culture more generally:

"For upwards of a hundred million inhabitants of Egypt, Turkey and Pakistan alone . . . the crescent is a national sign incorporated in their flags. As a Scot, and for the time being a citizen of this burgh, I object to some other countries' national sign being used here as is being done, even were there much more local justification than now appears. We might as well put up a swastika because, for all anyone knows, it appears in some ancient record and makes a good piece of decoration – all in total neglect of what that sign has meant to Nazi Germany and to the world. Surely we have left some fragments of proper national sentiment and some better symbolic ideas of our own."

"quite misleading and singularly ill-chosen" commented another local resident, while another citizen composed the following poem:

The water shortage and the moons/They criticise and mock,/But oh! Ye loons, ye great buffoons/Ye're in for sic a shock!/The next "Test's" at the Reservoir/For there the sun shines bright,/And at the new Toon Hall/They mean ta sell Turkish Delight!¹¹

Such was the extent of misapprehension, the local newspaper chose to reprint the source coat of arms, together with the version that was widely known – as shown below- so that people could understand the references being made.

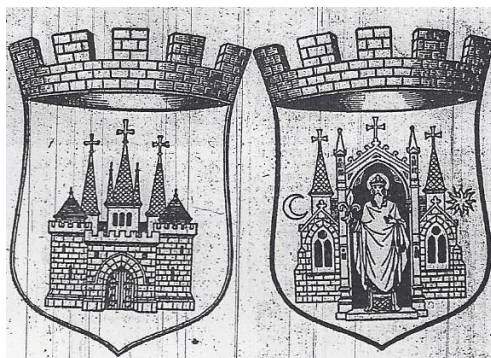
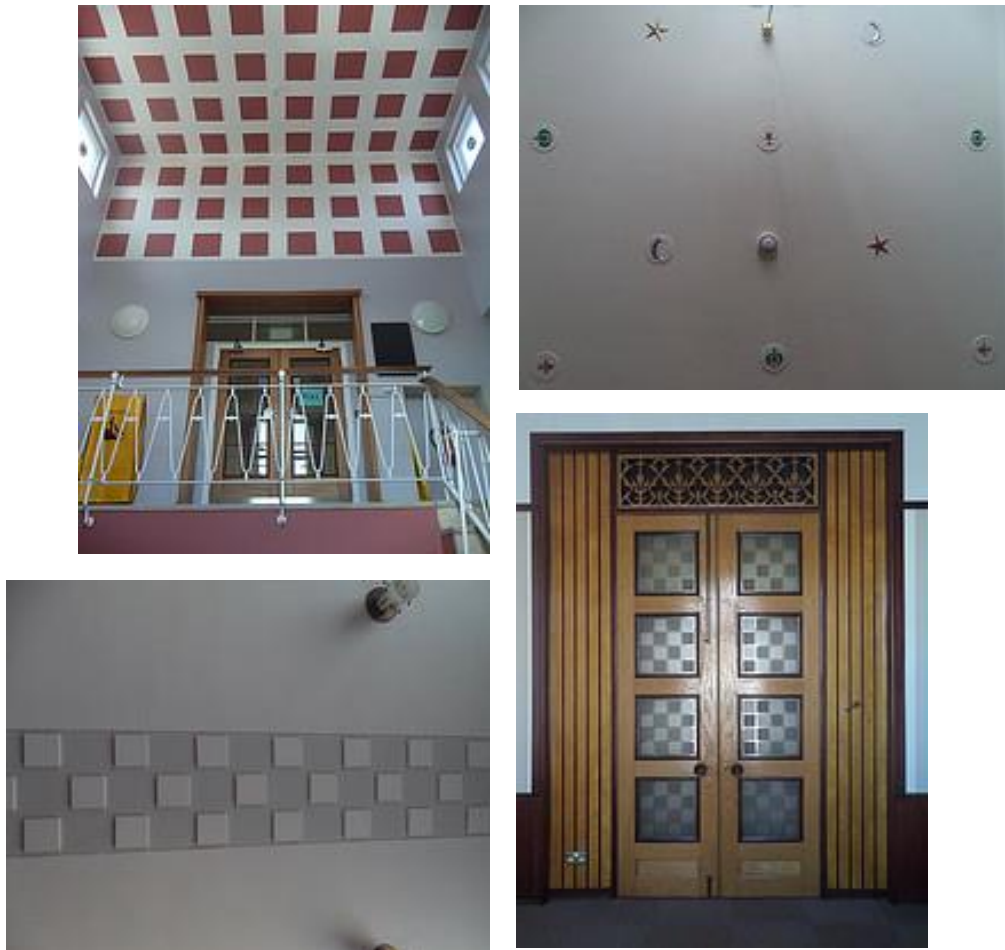


Figure 17: Kirkcaldy's two coats of arms: that to the left is the one that was commonly used, while that to the right, including the crescent moon and stars, was the source of the stars and crescents found throughout Kirkcaldy Town House.

Source: "Kirkcaldy has Authority for Its Stars and Crescents: Correspondents Voice their Views," *The Fife Advertiser*, September 2 (1953).

The moon and star were used in tandem with other symbols: a thistle – within the United Kingdom, synonymous with Scotland - is used with the same frequency in the plaster bosses, and a square block motif is used for glass door etchings as well as for a decorative plaster scheme in the secondary staircases. As the first commentator suggested above, the use of the moon and star as part of this decorative vocabulary comes across more as a convenient decorative foil, rather than an attempt to reference Kirkcaldy's history. Symbols abstracted from those that had currency historically were a mid-twentieth century means of creating a loose connection with the past, rather than a desire to bind the new building and its administration closely to its historic context. A more tenuous link reflected the lessening of urgency for legitimising local government in the mid-twentieth century.



Figures 18-21: Use of thistle and block motifs in Kirkcaldy Town House.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, July 11, 2014.

Similarly, a bronze sculpture called *The Sower*, which was commissioned for a niche within the front elevation, also references abstract qualities of Kirkcaldy's past, rather than referencing more concrete events or personages.

The sculptor, Thomas Whalen, described it as a

"young man full of confidence, with the world at his feet. . .The figure of the Sower is symbolic, symbolic of the town and its people. The idea of the figure has its foundations in the many peculiarities of the town, a town in early times run by its guild and crafts. A hard working early growth – enterprising and industrious – like a plant. Even in this day and age, the town has industries peculiar to itself – textiles, roperies, linoleum etc., many derived from the Flax Plant. Indeed it may be said the town depends on sowing."¹²

This can be compared with what might be expected to be found outside a nineteenth century town hall. There, it would be typical to find a sculpture of a particular local cultural figure; Ivanhoe in the Borders region, or William Wallace in Ayrshire, for example, or there might also be statues of important industrialists or previous Provosts. Kirkcaldy's anonymous Sower representing the town's qualities by association rather than repute was a significant departure from this locally-rooted theme. This was common in such sculpture during the period: George Kenyon's 1967 Newcastle's Civic Chamber, for example, has a massive bronze sculpture of a human figure cantilevered from the connecting wall to the Chamber, created by David Wynne in 1968. This represents the River God Tyne; a mythological construct, rather than an actual person with a tangible connection to the town, again underlining a lessening need to link to real symbols of authority, in preference for those of the imagination.

The abstracted nature of the decoration of the Town House borrows from historic precedent, without showing a slavish devotion to its interpretation. The frequent repetition of the symbols, in various materials, suggests they were more important for providing an interesting decorative scheme than for creating a tangible link to the past. The use of the star and moon motifs, as well as The Sower sculpture, indicate a lesser need to tie the building to the past glories, and a desire, perhaps, to look towards an unknown future by using less understood symbols that might take on new meanings for the locality over time.

This lessening in importance of the town's past in creating the image of the town is well-illustrated by the attitude towards the Burgh's collection of portraits. Typically from the nineteenth century, and frequently to the current day, a large portrait at either life size or two thirds life size is commissioned of each local authority's Provost. Traditionally these were of oils, mounted in elaborate gilded frames and hung in conspicuous public places in a town hall. In Glasgow City Chambers, for example, the top public floor atrium is entirely given over to a gallery of portraits former Provosts. Such portraits helped to give legitimacy to the Council by providing a constant visual reminder of the area's history of locally-based power. This effect was heightened through the use of rich colours and expensive materials.

At Kirkcaldy, it was discovered at a late stage that the portraits were too large to fit on the wall spaces of the new building.¹³ Following investigation by the architects, it was decided that only the portraits of Kirkcaldy and Dysart Provosts would be reproduced as smaller, black and white photographs, to line the Councillors' Corridor: a demonstrably less impressive display than what had previously been the case.¹⁴ This recommendation by the Sub-Committee with responsibility for the building of the Town House was not challenged at full Council however, suggesting that the aggrandisement of former Provosts was not judged necessary for creating the new image of the new Town House.

One area of the Town House referenced Kirkcaldy's history directly. A 200sq.ft. by Walter Pritchard of the Glasgow School of Art was commissioned in 1956 for the staircase wall of the main entrance, visible immediately upon entry and brightly lit from the glazed roof above.



Figures 22-23: The approach to the Mural at Kirkcaldy Town House, via the main entrance; and the mural itself, viewed from below.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, July 11, 2014.

The mural was conceived as an Adam-style house, in reference to the famous Adam brother architects being Kirkcaldy natives. In the central alcove is a figure called Good Government, being crowned by Peace and with Plenty by his side. Truth, Justice and Learning are represented by Plato, Aquinas and Aristotle. Also shown alongside the Adam brothers were other locally-relevant luminaries including Adam Smith and Thomas Carlyle, but notably missing contemporary industrial figures, such as Sir Richard Nairn, founder of one of the local linoleum factories and a major British industrial figure at the time. This omission surprised Sir Garnet Wilson, the chairman of the Glenrothes Development Corporation, who commented at the Town House's opening dinner, "if Nairn had done nothing else, he had provided the burgh with a quite distinctive tang and atmosphere".¹⁵

At the bottom of the mural, and closest to eye level, is shown the granting of the Royal Charter to the town in 1644, when it was made a Free Port. The Charter is received by a group of officials, linking the newly formed Kirkcaldy Burgh Council with the history of its predecessors. The mural also shows depictions of daily life in Kirkcaldy, as well as the major industries of the town: a subject which caused much controversy when the design of the mural first became known. Originally it was planned to contain depictions of iron founding, tanning, weaving, pottery and coal mining – but not a representation of linoleum-making; then Kirkcaldy's main industry.

This caused consternation when it was discovered, both within the Council itself and local press, who published articles with such titles as "'Lang Toon' without lino? – unthinkable".¹⁶ *The Falkirk Advertiser* reported that when the mural scheme was brought to Council,

"Councillor A Fleming . . . felt that there should be some reference in the painting to the town's chief industry. He was supported by Councillor A McLean, who observed that whenever the name of Kirkcaldy was mentioned linoleum was immediately associated with it."¹⁷

The rationale for its exclusion was that it had been decided that the mural should refer to ancient industries that had a longer local history than linoleum.¹⁸ The architect's view was reported as "Yes, we'll use lino – in its proper place on

the floor.”¹⁹ This suggests that the brief for mural’s subject matter was jointly agreed between the Sub-Committee and the architect: thus the exclusion of linoleum, both in the depiction of the industry and of Sir Richard Nairn, was deliberate.

Such a dismissive attitude to so important an element in the town’s self-image would have been unthinkable in the nineteenth century and into the early years of the twentieth century, when it was just that current of economic development that had caused the towns to grow to an extent where self-government was possible. The well-known example of the 1878 Maryhill Burgh Halls by James McNaughtan was designed to incorporate 20 stained glass panels by Edinburgh artist Stephen Adam, each celebrating a different local industry, including linen bleaching, glass working, boatbuilding and canal transport, and the modern industries of dye working and zinc spelter. The originally-planned mural, in seeking to celebrate Kirkcaldy’s illustrious history, neglected its most recent economic mainstay. This suggests both a lack of understanding of the role of such industry in supporting the town, and also, perhaps, that such present-day associations were no longer needed to create a successful image for the local authority.

Kirkcaldy Town House shows the beginnings of a move away from the need for the town hall to tie itself to its history, culture and industry to be considered legitimate. Those instructing, designing and embellishing the building were content with more abstract references to the town’s history and culture to be joined with depictions of historical events and persons that did not link the current administration to contemporary industry.

Both Kirkcaldy and Dundee Councils demonstrated their need to link to the past in proving the legitimacy of their governance through their new town hall. For them, the past was a tool kit from which elements could be selected to support the civic narrative they wished to portray through their building for posterity.

4 Burntisland and Renfrew Town Halls: Look Old to Look Young

Dundee City Chambers and Kirkcaldy Town House were concerned with a very locally- derived version of the past to help support the governance of the present. The designers of Burntisland and Renfrew Town Halls, on the other hand, were keen to remove all trace of their own administrative history, in

favour of a new historicist style, which was counterintuitively employed as a statement of modern, fashionable intent.

For Burntisland Town Hall, the stylistic options available to its designer were somewhat limited. It was built before the start of the period of stylistic eclecticism associated with town halls, which, as discussed in Chapter 1, only commenced in earnest in the 1860s. Town Halls of the 1830s-50s were only beginning to move away from the classically-inspired traditional model of a town house with a fore stair and bell tower added to distinguish it from the Laird's residence. Good examples of such earlier town halls remain at Sanquhar, by William Adam in 1735, Culross, dating to 1626 (Architect unknown) and Inverkeithing, by George Munroe in 1770.

In many cases, the earlier town houses had been gifts from the local aristocracy, or built directly under their auspices, in a similarly classical design that formed a distinctive visual language for municipal government that was still common in Scotland until the middle years of the nineteenth century.²⁰ In moving away from this legacy of aristocratic control in the early and middle years of the nineteenth century, no one style was immediately dominant, with constructions ranging from the classically-styled 1853 Dalry Town House (Architect unknown) to the 1859 Italianate Irvine Town Hall by James Ingram, to the neo-Tudor of Rothesay Town Hall by James Dempster in 1832.²¹ The Town Hall at Burntisland was not following any stylistic precedent for a town hall, but was rather the realisation of a particular architect's imagining of what a town hall should look like, following modern theories of architecture, to create a representation of the vision of municipal government. This image was left to the architect John Henderson alone to develop, without explicit stylistic direction from the Council, who were building a new town hall out of necessity rather than choice.

A new building was needed because of the construction of the Low Water Pier in Burntisland, which required a new road be built for access, in the location of the existing eighteenth century Town House. In March 1844, the Committee for the New Road approached the Council requesting its demolition, and offered to pay for the construction of a new town hall.²²

The Council were not minded to consider the appearance of their town hall in time-consuming detail: they were driven by a desire for a speedy construction. Having been instructed by the Council to have a plan put together and costed in May 1844, the Provost was apologising just two months later in July that one

had not yet been prepared. The appointment of the locally-active architect Henderson appeared to the Council to provide the quickest means of procuring a new plan, as he was already familiar with both the town and the client, although it was not until January 1844 that he presented his scheme. What is understood to have been his presentation image of his design for Burntisland Town Council is shown below:



Figure 24: Presentation drawing of Burntisland Town Hall, by John Henderson, undated, but believed to date from 1844.

Source: Hay and Henderson Collection, Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments.

There is no record of any direction from the Council as to what they wished the building to look like, or the values it should

promote, and Henderson made no reference to it in his correspondence with the Council to either confirm or deny satisfying the commission in that respect. It can be assumed that the building's appearance and the choice of style were his own decision, unrelated to any local inspiration: there were no similarly-styled civic buildings in Burntisland at the time.

Although well-known to the Burntisland Councillors for his more prosaic work of hotel and cottage design, in the 1840s John Henderson was already growing a name for himself as Scotland's foremost Tractarian designer; a position he held on to throughout the heyday of the movement in Scotland.²³ Between 1840 and 1860, he designed 26 of the 88 Episcopal churches in Scotland, all in a similar Gothic style. His nearest rivals in terms of numbers of churches built in the style constructed only three.²⁴

The Tractarian style, as adopted with vigour by the Scottish Episcopal Church in the first instance, and from there spreading in a very limited number of cases to

secular forms, demanded architecture inspired by the Middle Ages. Popularised by the Ecclesiologists, it was believed that by building in this style, the piety of former ages could be inspired in the contemporary users of the building. In practice this meant a heavily-prescribed form, preferably in Decorated Gothic, containing clearly-defined elements of the nave and chancel, aisles, towers, sedilia and aumbries: the movement was opposed to the box-like structures that had become common in the Church of England.²⁵

While his plans for churches were well-articulated, as the movement's journal *The Ecclesiologist* demanded, that for Burntisland Town Hall shows a flatter, more restrained expression. This is likely to have been caused by the constraints of the site, but also by the type of commission: in this time before the rise of the Scots Baronial style, a town hall was not expected to look ancient, with the accretions of the centuries around it. The Tudor detailing of the window surrounds and the Gothic treatment of the Town Hall tower are similar to one of his other secular buildings in the Tractarian style: Trinity College, Glenalmond.

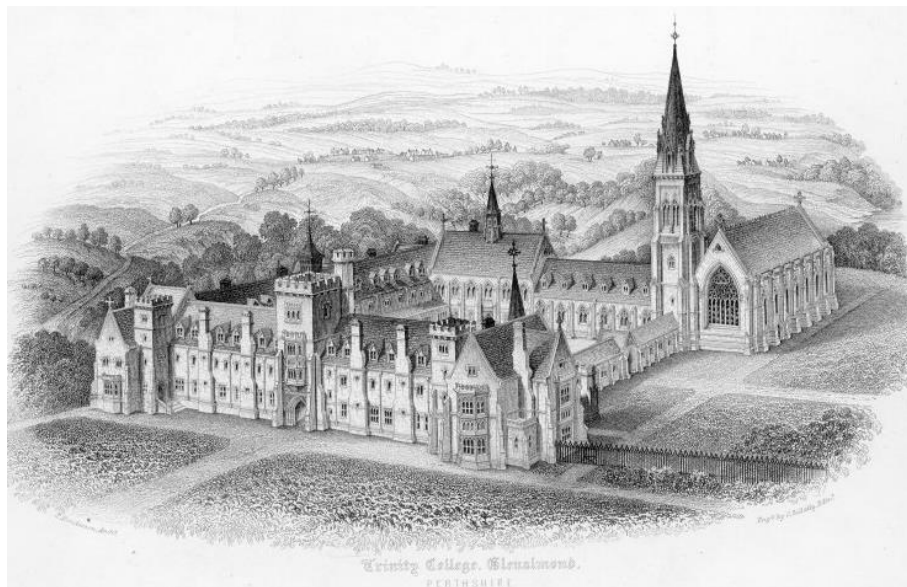


Figure 25: Trinity College, Glenalmond, engraving by J. Gellatly, circa 1860.

Source: Print of engraving, RCAHMS collection ref: SC1435544.

Completed three years before the Town Hall in 1842, the commission of the College shows the same decorative feature of paired arched windows beneath a square hood moulding on the entrance elevation as is found on the side elevation of the Town Hall, and the detailing of the chapel tower (to the right midground of the image above), which was never built, is similar to that on the clock tower at Burntisland Town Hall.

The style Henderson used for the Town Hall was thus transferrable between locations and building function: unlike the later Scots Baronial style, it was not intended to symbolise a particularly modern Scottish form of local government, but rather a high moral standard of piety and rectitude, described by architecture that was applicable whatever the function, as identified in Augustus Welby Pugin's *Contrasts: Or A Parallel Between The Noble Edifices Of The Middle Ages, And Corresponding Buildings Of the Present Day; Shewing The Present Decay Of Taste*.²⁶ In designing Burntisland Town Hall, Henderson was aiming to imbue the new building with this set of principles through the use of the architecture that, to him, conveyed it best. It was an association with these principles, rather than an ecclesiastical connection, that was more important to him in his design.

The image created through the use of the Tractarian forms was built on by the architectural detailing of the Town Hall. The presentation painting (Figure 24) shows the new Town Hall as an ornament to the town. Unlike its predecessor – shown below as Figure 26, in a painting by the local nineteenth century painter Andrew Young - which appears to have been faced in traditional Scottish harling (lime-based render), the new Town Hall is finished in cut ashlar sandstone. This finish would dominate in a streetscape of harled buildings: it would not discolour differentially across its surface, and its stone would not need annual maintenance even in the harsh marine environment of urban Burntisland.



Figure 26: Burntisland Town House, image taken from a black and white photograph of a watercolour by Andrew Young, believed to have been painted around the turn of the nineteenth century.

Source: Burntisland Heritage Trust Collection. The location of the original watercolour is unknown.²⁷

The presentation painting of the new Town Hall shows the contrast between this finish and that common in the other town buildings clearly: the stone surfacing is portrayed positively as a clean, precise finish, whereas the neighbouring buildings have the softer outlines associated with vernacular architecture, and the colour variation one associates with the use of rubble stone or harled finishes. This is not just the perception of James Henderson: a similar softness of finish and colour variance for the existing structures is evident in the Young painting above, indicating a shared understanding of the older buildings as less finished.

The elevation presented in the watercolour above presents an unimposing façade to the town. It is likely that the harbourside elevation, from which the main hall inside would look out over the water, would have presented a more imposing elevation through the employment of larger windows, but this remains speculation. The town side of the building is differentiated from its neighbours on either side of the image by elements relating to its function rather than architectural style: its prominent location, forestair and bell and clock tower. Without these, the building would be indistinguishable from others of the town as a place of municipal business.

The Town Hall would have stood out from the rest of the streetscape in the way that only cut stone churches had been different before: buildings of high standing in the community. Its intent, as designed by its architect, was not only to differentiate itself from the existing architectural language of the town, but to show the local authority had a different intent to the Council who had inhabited the Town House, in being more forward-looking and modern in their aspirations. Young records an earlier commentator's describing the Town House as "that abominable old courthouse with its outside stair", suggesting that by the time of the construction of the new Town Hall, the Town House was more redolent of historic deficiencies than of the glories of the past.²⁸

The regularised rhythm of the fenestration pattern, using large windows clearly intended for glazing as opposed to simple shutters, and most of all, its clock and bell tower, announces the Town Hall's ceremonial function and the importance of its occupants, and by proxy, the town that holds such a building. The most similar secular building type to the Town Hall would have been the Music Hall, shown below.



Figure 27: Burntisland Music Hall, dating to 1857.

Source: Image courtesy of Ian Archibald, Burntisland Heritage Trust, taken October 10, 2014.

Its simple design, rubble stonework and box-like plan form demonstrate the normal construction methodology for secular buildings intended for public access at the time. In comparison to this, the new Town Hall must have appeared strikingly different to local residents. Its marriage of what was clearly ecclesiastically-inspired design with a local government function would have suggested a new and different set of associations with the idea of burgh management. The previous building had borrowed stylistically from the surrounding retailing and industrial streetscape, suggesting a sole concern with the economic transactions of the town, where the new building connected itself with an altogether higher purpose through its use of Tractarian Gothic. Its outward-looking design repositioned the Town Hall and the Burgh Council as a less insular body than before, more open to change and willing to be at the vanguard of new design philosophy.

In the same way that Augustus Welby Pugin's Gothic designs with Charles Barry for the Palace of Westminster in 1835 were taken to express a new era of honesty, integrity and connection with an honourable past, Henderson's design for Burntisland Town Hall may have been intended to symbolise a clear break with the town's history of aristocratic control through the use of an architectural language that was fast becoming synonymous with sound moral principles. Whether the reading of morality was understood as discreet from that of

religious connection was clear to all the citizens is open to interpretation. However, it may be assumed that there was knowledge amongst the merchant and aristocratic classes, at a minimum, of the Gothic designs of Westminster, and the moralising rationale of the choice of that style to represent the home of national government.

It seems clear that the style and form of Burntisland Town Hall was decided by its architect, guided by the direct or inferred desire of the Burgh Council to distance itself from its historic associations of control by the aristocracy towards a more democratic future. To the citizens of Burntisland, it is more likely that its form linked it with ecclesiastical forms that were already known, suggesting that the Burgh Council worthy of the same type of respect and reverence shown to religious leaders.

Similarly motivated to move away from the past were Renfrew Town Council in 1870s. As outlined in Chapter 1, the late nineteenth century was a time of great confidence and vigour in Scottish local government. While a vast quantity of legislation was being introduced by central government to further the administrative reach of the burgh, large towns and cities were also pushing forward their own acts through parliament for local needs. This gave Scottish burghs an individual and distinctly localised character, which did much to bolster civic pride. This was coupled with a justifiable complacency in the great achievements of the nineteenth century industrialists, who wholeheartedly supported local government as an alternative to greater central control.

It was in this climate of overwhelming support for local government that the great Scottish town halls were built. Peddie & Kinnear's 1868 Aberdeen Town House, Paisley Town Hall by William Henry Lynn in 1879, the 1881 Greenock Municipal Buildings by H&D Barclay, William Young's 1883 Glasgow City Chambers, and Govan Town Hall by Thomson & Sandilands in 1898 are all buildings redolent of the industrial age and of the climate of self-government that supported them. Renfrew Town Hall, although smaller than the examples just quoted, exhibits the key characteristics of such buildings. The exaggeration of form and decoration are the products of a town council that is supremely confident in itself and bold in the image it wishes to portray to define itself in a period of change.

The choice of style of Renfrew town hall reflects the great popularity of Scots Baronial architecture in the latter half of the nineteenth century in Scotland. The style came to be viewed as synonymous with civic architecture, although, as explored in Chapter 1, this is not an accurate reflection of its actual deployment: a classical style was almost as popular a choice. Scots Baronial was also used for courthouses, museums, art galleries, village halls and large private houses.²⁹ In addition to its being highly fashionable, its exaggerated decorative features made it an appropriate choice for economically prosperous towns such as Renfrew, where a bold architectural statement using historic detailing was in keeping with the confidence of the Town Council. Its links to Scotland's self-governing history, in the form of the medieval castles and keeps that still dotted the landscape and were immortalised in *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*³⁰, allowed for an easy appropriation of civic pride. There are a multitude of examples of town halls in the Scots Baronial style, but strikingly similar town halls are found at Rutherglen, by Charles Wilson in 1862, Dunfermline, by James Walker in 1875, Annan, by Peter Smith in 1878, Lockerbie, by David Bryce in 1880, and Hawick by James Walker in 1886. These are illustrated below.





Above: Figures 28-32: Rutherglen, Dunfermline, Annan, Lockerbie and Hawick town halls, images from current photographs as well as contemporary architectural prints and drawings in the collection of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments (RCAHMS).

Sources:

<http://www.panoramio.com/photo/1591448;>

http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=213338;

<http://archiseek.com/2009/1875-new-town-hall-annan-dumfries-and-galloway;>

<http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/832066;>

<http://www.turnbullclan.com/tca/index.php/features/arms.html>; all accessed June 15, 2016.

As can be seen from the above images, the style was successful in portraying a strong and vital image of the local authority. It is notable that in all of the above examples, there is an emphasis on a heavily-modelled and bartisaned square tower, which is the focus of the facade. With the exception of the town hall at Annan, the tower was located to a corner of the front elevation, punctuating the intersection of streets and effectively creating the feature that would come to be recognised as the centre of the town.³¹ For all these town halls, the tower was designed to be seen from miles around as a potent symbol of the town's success.

Scots Baronial was one of many historicist styles employed by nineteenth century architects in an effort to appropriate positive associations with the past. As noted in Chapter 1, particularly in the latter half of the nineteenth century, an

eclectic mix of styles was employed, and particularly those of a vibrant decorative nature. Tain Town Hall by Andrew Maitland & Sons in 1874, for



example, exhibits a particularly vibrant form of Romanesque-inspired Renaissance architecture in a small Highland town.

Figure 33: Tain Town Hall's lively front elevation.

Source: www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2682420service=RCAHMS&id=109611&image_id=SC398274, accessed June 15, 2016.

Local architect Andrew Maitland's confident handling of the Town Hall did not indicate a particular preference for the style, however: in the same decade he also completed the Royal Hotel in Gothic, and his own office in an early version of Arts and Crafts - both of which are also in Tain - as shown below. His choice of Renaissance for the town hall was clearly based on its suitability for the building's function and contemporary architectural fashion.



Figures 34 and 35: Andrew Maitland's Office and the Royal Hotel, both in Tain and designed by Andrew Maitland.

Source: <https://www.pressandjournal.co.uk/fp/lifestyle/home/555663/tain-house-really-stands-crowd/> and <http://www.banwellcastle.co.uk/royal-hotel-tain.html>, both accessed March 25, 2016.

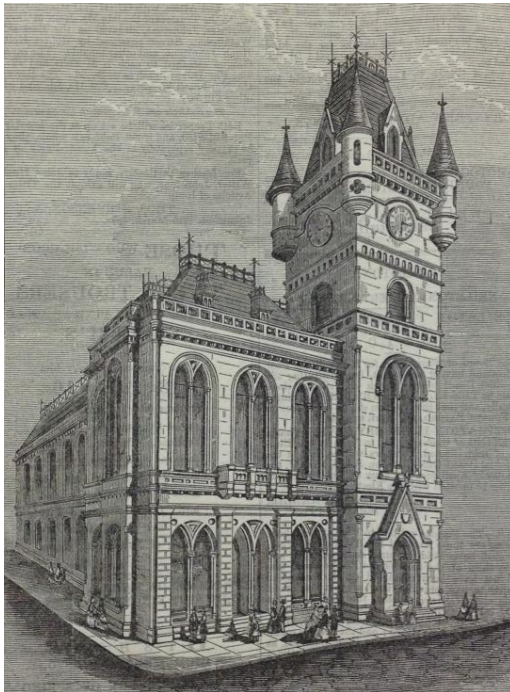
In designing Renfrew Town Hall in Scots Baronial, Lamb was similarly choosing the most appropriate style, in this case successfully creating a building with clear links to the generally-held conception of Scotland's romanticised municipal past promoted by writers such as Sir Walter Scott in his popular Waverley series of novels. As the *Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette* put it: "the whole appearance of the building will be characteristic of public and municipal buildings for an old Burgh like Renfrew".³²

This was a very selective view of the architecture of Scotland's municipal history, however; ignoring the value of buildings that did not conform to this stylistic type: specifically, in this case, the previous town hall. The power holders in Renfrew were not slow to criticise their previous building, large sections of which dated to the Scottish Renaissance - the very period Scots Baronial buildings aimed to mimic. It was condescendingly described as a "quaint old steeple and building"; the Provost described it as "our familiar friend, the Venerable Steeple", while jokes were made about the steeple clock's time-keeping abilities: "Who has been an inhabitant of this ancient place and cannot remember the old steeple and clock of marvellous and wondrous construction - which used to keep time after its own fashion" - a light-hearted joke when taken at face value, but a very serious complaint in a heavily-industrialised town where the time keeping of thousands of factory workers would be governed by the town clock.³³

The old Town Hall thus dispensed of as an inefficient anachronism, it followed that a new building was needed: as Colonel Campbell said, "old things must pass way, and give place to what is suited for modern requirements". Provost Gallacher agreed, commenting that "The old buildings had faithfully served their day and generation, and there was a strong desire on the part of the magistrates and Council to have new Municipal Buildings suited for the Royal Burgh of Renfrew". Rev Mr Stephen drew a specific link between the need for a new building and modernity, saying that the Town Hall was "a building worthy of the town [and comparable to] . . . that most remarkable of all inventions, the electric telegraph".³⁴ The appropriation of a historical style was thus acceptable, so long as it was framed as part of a general movement to modernise the town.

Bearing in mind the successful reception of the new Town Hall - documented in Chapter 5 - it is interesting to note the changes to the Town Hall directed by the Improvement Committee only six years after its opening in 1873. When the building was substantially damaged due to fire in 1879, it was rebuilt with a flat

roof to the main section, and an enlarged roof section tower, of a more complex plan form; as one Councillor put it; more “gingerbread-like”.³⁵



Figures 36&37: Renfrew Town Hall, in 1872 and following the 1878 fire reconstruction.

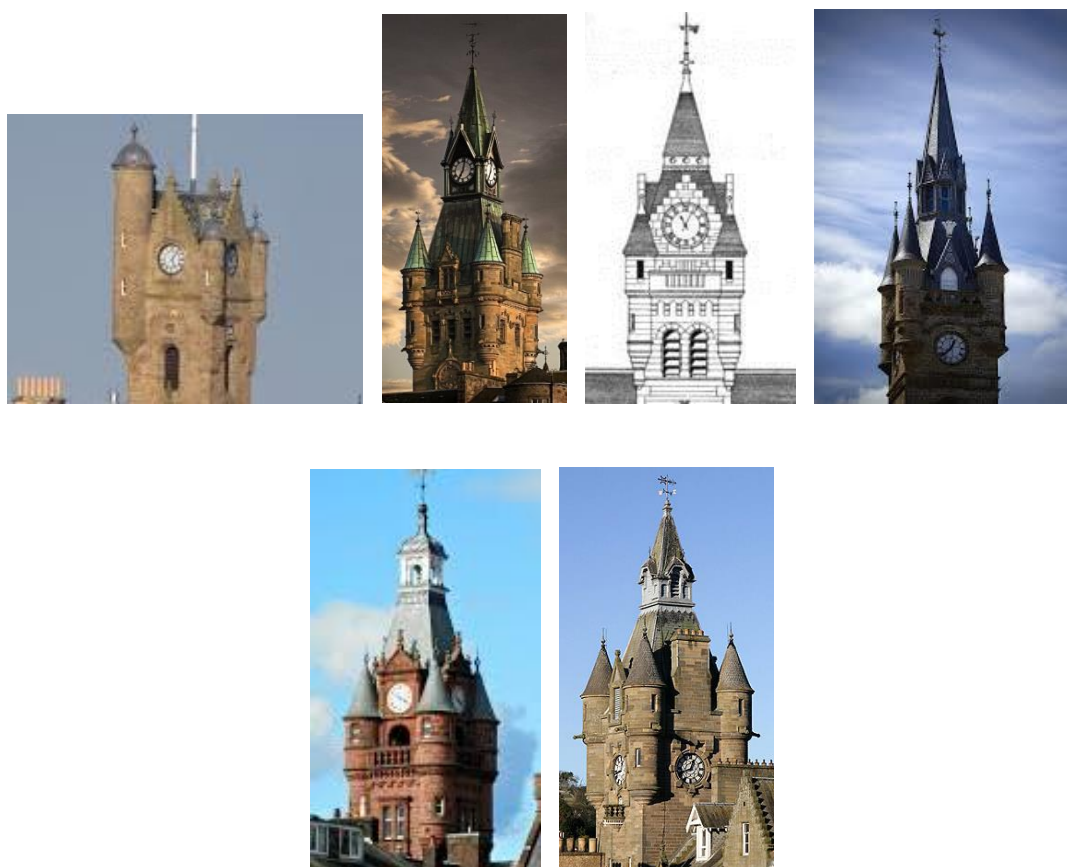
Source: *Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette*, April 13, 1872, and author’s photograph, site survey, April 19, 2015.

As can be seen from the images above, the original design of the building and spire was more French in style, while the tower that followed - with its more substantial bartisans and heavier trefoil detailing - is more purely Scots Baronial in interpretation.

Given that the building had only been completed six years before, the question begs itself as to why this change was considered necessary so soon after the completion of the Town Hall, particularly relevant as the rebuilding costs of the Town Hall were not fully covered by its insurance. The Council were therefore self-funding for 50% of the cost of rebuilding.³⁶ The costs of any upgrading of the design would be borne in part by them, and by the rate payers, many of whom voted them into office, meaning that any additional costs were likely to be closely scrutinised.

The most probable answer for the increase in the elaborateness of the design is a desire to remain current with the fashions of the day. By comparing the other five town halls in Renfrew's group, as outlined above, it is evident that the earliest of these – Rutherglen – has a contextually unprepossessing roof scape to its tower. Like the Renfrew Town Hall of 1872, it relies on the muscular modelling of its tower and bartisans to create its effect.

The remaining four, all dating to after Renfrew Town Hall tower was originally completed, have more complex roof designs. As at Renfrew, they are each of at least two stages, tapering in from the plan of the tower to form an additional platform for either a decorative spire or bell tower.



Figures 38-43: Rutherglen, Dunfermline, Annan, Renfrew, Lockerbie and Hawick Town Hall tower roofs.

Sources:

<http://www.findthepostcode.com/town.php?code=G45>

<http://www.panoramio.com/photo/24941009>

Author's photograph, site survey, April 19, 2015.

<http://archiseek.com/2009/1875-new-town-hall-annan-dumfries-and-galloway>

https://www.flickr.com/photos/trevs_other_pics/9841861656/

<http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2229647>, all accessed June 15, 2016.

As can be seen from a comparison with the images above, the redesign of Renfrew's tower roof follows the pattern set out by the town halls completed in the intervening period at Dunfermline and Annan, and later continued at Lockerbie and Hawick. While the overall Scots Baronial style of Renfrew Town Hall still remained current six years later – and indeed continued to be so until the early 1900s, as demonstrated in Chapter 1 – the design of the tower had moved on to a more decorative, less defensive pattern, perhaps in keeping the more assured stature of local government toward the end of the nineteenth century.

Remaining up to date with current fashions was clearly an essential part of Renfrew Town Council's desire to project an image of modernity. This helped them to gain the acceptance of the middle and upper classes, who would sustain them in power. The fashionable appeal of the town hall for this social group was augmented through the provision of an appropriate social space, advertised from the outside.

The dramatic, historically-inspired architecture of Renfrew Town Hall served two purposes: it indicated that the Town Council of Renfrew were adhering to modern thinking of what a town hall should look like, and it published the social function of the building to anyone who saw it. It allowed the Council to be positioned as the primary vehicle in serving the needs of the voters, by ensuring their town's main symbol was a fashionable hub for society, appropriate for a wealthy, forward-looking economy. Both it and Burntisland Town Hall laid claim to a historicist style in order to promote a vision of themselves that was entirely current.

It was not only buildings of the gothic or baronial styles that drew on the past for claiming legitimacy. The practice was equally common for classically-inspired buildings, such as Glasgow City Chambers, where the history of Glasgow's

development was represented by a large mosaic version of the city's crest in the entrance vestibule, visible as soon as the building was entered, shown below.



Figure 44: Glasgow's crest, immediately visible upon entering the building.

Source: Author's photograph, site survey March 4, 2014.

In the Banqueting Hall on the floor above, a mural cycle covering the walls depicts the granting of the city's charter, local history and culture, as well as the four main Scottish rivers. The top floor atrium tracks the stability of the City through its collection of large and frequently life-size portraits of past Provosts. These and a variety of other decorative devices are used as a means to create a localized historical narrative in a building whose architecture was clearly non-Scottish in origin.

The Venetian decorative style of the interior, and the Italian Renaissance exterior, while not derived from local sources, drew on the associations of these styles with mercantile government. The connections between Venice as a sea-trading city state and Glasgow, whose fortune relied on the river Clyde, were particularly marked. The use of such a style, as at Renfrew with its use of Scots Baronial, created an opportunity for a florid interior, meeting the needs of the City Chamber to be Glasgow's premier social space.



Figures 45-47: The interior of Glasgow City Chambers: designed in a historicist Italianate style that was highly fashionable in the late nineteenth century.

Source: Author's photograph, site survey, March 4, 2014.

The past was used as a source book as much for neo-classical buildings as it was for those of other design choices. Historical associations were important as a way of legitimising a town hall and making it fashionable, but no one style was viewed as pre-eminent: any style that drew on a previously known cannon could be viewed as a legitimate means of civic expression.

5 The Future Manifest: Lanark County Buildings

Dundee City Chambers and Kirkcaldy Town House both demonstrated how the past could be used in creating a contemporary image of local government that supported the needs of the present administration by select references to the past. Renfrew and Burntisland Town Halls also employed a historic style, but in the service of a very modern agenda. Lanark County Buildings dispensed with the history entirely, in favour of associating themselves entirely with the future.

In a similarly forward-looking vein, Lanark County Buildings was an opportunity for the County Council to affirm central government's vision for the restructuring of local government: regionalisation. It was formalised by the report written by The Royal Commission on Local Government in Scotland, set up in 1966, which was commonly referred to as *The Wheatley Report*, after its Chair, Lord Wheatley. This affirmed the government's commitment to the amalgamation of smaller local authorities in favour of larger regions in Scotland: a policy that was already generally accepted by the time of the Report's publication, as historians George Monies and James Kellas have commented.³⁷ The government confirmed its commitment to Lanarkshire in a 1963 White Paper on Scotland, which identified it as a 'growth point' and committed to infrastructure development in its vicinity to stimulate development: a policy that had already been in place since 1955, when the Conservative Party used its heavy spending on roads and its approval for the new town at Cumbernauld, North Lanarkshire, as part of its platform for re-election.³⁸

The Commission solicited responses from local authorities throughout Scotland, amongst which was Lanark County Council. The initial report completed by Lanark's internal Working Group was completed in April 1964 – the same month that Lanark County Buildings opened – and provides insight into how the Council viewed the future of local government, as well as what their image of the new building was supposed to portray.

In their written evidence, there is approval for the policy of regionalisation: "the need for a reduction in the number of . . . authorities and an enlargement of the units of administration has been generally realised in recent years".³⁹ The key words of "simplicity and efficiency" – also frequently used by both the Council and the media to describe the design of the County Buildings – are employed to argue that a bigger administrative hub would better add to the "well-being of the [the local community] for whom the services are administered."⁴⁰ The Council's evidence affirms the importance of a robust local government structure: "local government [should play] . . . the fullest possible part in future economic and social developments".⁴¹ For Lanark County Council, the local authority was at the heart of the functioning of the local community, taking on a major role in its development. Modernist architecture represented the embodiment of a newly effective modern society, and, as Historic Scotland has commented, "buildings designed to house the local authorities were naturally thought of as symbols of the bright modern future."⁴²

At the time of Lanark County Buildings' construction in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Scotland was embracing skyscrapers for buildings of civic or cultural intent, in a manner distinguishable from similar buildings for housing. As the architectural historian Miles Glendinning has noted, such buildings differed from the housing towers that were built at the time through their high quality finishes and being "disposed as landmarks".⁴³ These include the tower block at Queen's College, Dundee tower, constructed 1958-61, and the David Hume Arts Tower for Edinburgh University, constructed 1960-3, both designed by Robert Matthew. The County Buildings was part of this group of high-quality skyscrapers, amongst which its form was intended to project the image of regional power: strong and deeply embedded in the locality. This desire for dominance was expressed through the 200ft tower block, which would become the major landmark for the region, recognisable from within Hamilton and from a considerable distance away, as discussed in Chapter 3. Before building works had even begun, the *Hamilton Advertiser* was calling it "the showpiece of the town".⁴⁴ Seen in this context, the ambitiousness of the design of Lanark County Buildings is a physical affirmation of contemporary political thought; a prediction of the end result of the complete rehabilitation of the local government system in Scotland that was to follow.

It was not just the height that appealed to the building's audience, but its stridently modern design. The decision to design in the International Modernist style was a deliberate one by the Council, who instructed their Architect to

proceed with “the erection on the Hamilton site of a modern style building in preference to the extension of the traditional design of 1938 development”, citing similar new buildings in Manchester and New York.⁴⁵ For them, the new era of regional government demanded a new style of architecture to give physical expression its ideas. Already there were examples of the appropriation of this style to express ideas of modern government, and nowhere more so than at the UN Headquarters in New York, completed by Oscar Niemeyer in 1952, to which Lanark County Buildings was frequently compared.⁴⁶ The architect of Lanark County Buildings was adamant that the plan form he designed was not derived from the UN Headquarters however: “They have little in common ... The only similarity will be the all-glass frontages. The original conception was very much my own”, he said in an interview with the local newspaper in 1959.⁴⁷

Despite Bannerman’s claims of originality, the similarities between the two are very obvious. The UN Headquarters, was well known at the time of the construction of Lanark, spawning numerous buildings in a similar vein across the USA and Europe. The UN excelled particularly in the fine detailing of glazed curtain walling and in the quality of materials used for the finishes, but it was the complete expression of form following function – the Modernist mantra – that excited the designers of public buildings to copy. The separation of political and corporate/civic function at Lanark and their articulation as discreet units of space are obvious abstractions of the UN precedent. In addition, the proportions of the corporate blocks – carefully detailed to demonstrate the change in internal functionality through horizontal breaks in the glazing pattern-, the use of a very similar system of curtain walling, the employment of ramps and the off-centre axial planning of the UN site are all reproduced at Lanark.



Figures 48&49: UN Headquarters, New York, and Lanark County Buildings.

Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:UN_Headquarters_2.jpg and author's photograph, site survey, August 17, 2013.

Lanark County Council was not alone in chasing the vision of modernism for its seat of local government. There are two comparable civic centres constructed within the era of Lanark County Buildings in the north of Britain: the recently-demolished Aberdeen Municipal Buildings by George McKeith in 1965, and Carlisle Civic Centre, by Charles B. Pearson in 1958.

Aberdeen Municipal Buildings, recently demolished and known as St. Nicholas House, was originally conceived by the City Architects Department in 1962 to be curtain-wall clad in silvered glass and steel panels: very similar to the system of curtain walling used at Lanark.⁴⁸



Figure 50: St. Nicholas House, Aberdeen (demolished June 2013): the majority of longitudinal three storey section at ground level is a 1975 extension to the 1962 tower and podium building. The City Chambers remained at Aberdeen Town House.

Source: www.geograph.org.uk/reuse.php?id=849701, accessed June 15, 2016.

Carlisle Civic Centre, only 84 miles from Lanark County Buildings in Hamilton, was built by John Laing Construction, as was the County Buildings. Unlike the sleek finish of the County Buildings' steel and mirrorised glass however, the Civic Centre's frame is pronounced, to create a strong articulation of the individual units of space.



Figure 51: Carlisle Civic Centre, shortly after completion in 1964.

Source: English Heritage.



Figure 52: Plymouth Civic centre, with Civic Suite to the foreground.

Source:

[http://www.english-](http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about/news/sale-of-plymouth-civic-centre/)

[heritage.org.uk/about/news/sale-of-plymouth-civic-centre/](http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about/news/sale-of-plymouth-civic-centre/), accessed June 15, 2016.

As well as nearby examples in Aberdeen and Carlisle, Bannerman may have been aware of Plymouth Civic Centre, shown above, the initial design for which formed part of HJW Stirling's plan for the civic area of Plymouth. This area was largely rebuilt in the 1950s following World War II bombing. Stirling's plan won the Grand Prix d'Honneur at the National Festival of Architecture and Monumental Art in Paris in 1956, and its concept was to create an image of a new modern city arising from the rubble.⁴⁹ Its matching function would have made its design a relevant project to Bannerman for examination. Plymouth has a skyscraper corporate block of fourteen storeys, in comparison with Lanark's seventeen. This is central to the plot and at right angles with the Civic Suite, where the Council Chambers and Civic Hall are located within a raised cuboid block. The buildings share obvious similarities. Like Lanark, metal frame curtain

walling is used on the corporate block, but it is also employed on the Civic Suite. Both buildings use the same facing materials of glass sheets, mosaic and slate as well as pre-cast concrete sections. They also share heavily rectilinear landscaping involving water as a major element – at Plymouth, there are ponds to the front and between the buildings, while at Lanark, the pond forms a band running across almost the entire width of the site.



Figures 53 & 54: The water feature below ground floor at Lanark County Buildings, and in front of Plymouth Civic Centre.

Source: Author's photograph, site survey, 17 August, 2013 and <http://www.plymouthherald.co.uk/Regeneration-experts-Urban-Splash-purchase/story-26002038-detail/story.html>, accessed June 15, 2016.

As can be seen from the examples above, Lanark County Buildings was one of a group of high-profile civic centres of the late 1950s and early 60s, designed to project an image of modernism that would create the new image of government in the minds of the populace. Its great height and positioning, as well as the quality of its finish made it stand out within that group as one of the finest of its number. It is less surprising then, that this vision of the new world was received positively by local residents, and was so wholly supported by the Council in its role as Client.

The building, and what it represented to Lanarkshire Council, was worth any expense necessary for their appropriate completion. It rose in cost from the initial estimate of £640,000 in 1957 to £1.85million when completed in 1964, without any dissent registered in the Council minutes.⁵⁰ It is telling that while the Offices and Property Committees of the Council were signing off on increasingly inflated budgets for the County Buildings over the five year period of its construction, the Reorganisation Committee was cutting back drastically on staff numbers, buying labour-saving devices such as photocopiers and dictation machines and reworking pay scales in an effort to save money and make the

Council more efficient.⁵¹ The County Buildings represented the Council's bid to become the regional centre in built form. For them, it was an image worth creating at any price, its value not determined in monetary form.

Outside of the Council there was an overwhelming sense of optimism and approval about the building, notably from professional bodies: The Royal Fine Art Commission for Scotland, upon inspecting a model of the design, wrote to Bannerman that they "had no criticism to make of the scheme on aesthetic grounds and [...] expressed their commendation of the design and imaginative treatment."⁵² The Scottish County, City and Burgh Architects' Joint Association were so interested in the building that it was the subject of their AGM site visit, and the Perth County Architect made a special inspection visit to the site upon its completion.⁵³ Lanark County Council were realising a vision of the future that was admired by professionals throughout Scotland.

This general enthusiasm for their building was shared by local citizens. Lanark County Buildings symbolised the modern way of life in its futuristic sense, where technology would carry out arduous tasks for humans who lived and worked in boxes of clean lines, located in the sky. Innovations such as centralised typing pools for departments of similar services, a futuristic telephony system and tea trolleys for all departments were all included as new systems for the new Buildings, as part of the essential vision of modernity: at the fore of the new society. Its unusual design and layout were unknown for the region, and one imagines their construction was something akin to watching a space ship being built. The production of a film promoting Lanark from 1963 gives some sense of the enormity of that change. It focusses on Hamilton's regular nineteenth century stone terraced houses, before dramatically swooping up to the scaffolding of the County Buildings, dwarfing everything around it. The counterpoint between old and new is highlighted by the voiceover, which notes that Hamilton is "rooted in the past, but branching strongly into a modern future".⁵⁴

From the initial presentation of the building in the local paper onwards, there was an overwhelmingly positive response to its design. By 1960, it was described as a "skyscraper", with the positive futuristic connotations the word held in the fifties and early sixties; a phrase that was used again during the reporting of the opening ceremony in 1964.⁵⁵ *The Glasgow Herald* commemorative pull-out, entitled "The Gentle Giant of Hamilton" and published on the day of the building's opening – itself an indication of the unusualness of

the building - gives a sense of the romantic view in which skyscrapers were held at the time:

"Most skyscrapers look their best at twilight, as they begin to stud the deepening sky with diamond lights. This is certainly true of the new County Buildings at Hamilton, for even the first glimpses of the glowing streaks that are its highest storeys, pencilled in the night sky high above the scrublands between Glasgow and Hamilton, are exciting in an unusual degree".⁵⁶

Skyscrapers were visions of the future; positioned above the ordinary landscape, and ethereal in nature.

"Modern Architecture at its Best", proclaimed *The Glasgow Herald* upon its opening, remarking on "its unusual fineness and subtlety of proportion" and likening it to "an inspired sculpture" and calling it "one of the best modern buildings in the country".⁵⁷ The acceptance of the local population for the building is evidenced by the sheer popularity of its tours upon completion: for some months after, the building was still being visited by 120 visitors every month.⁵⁸



Figure 55: A tour group have the printing facilities at Lanark County Buildings explained to them.

Source: *The Hamilton Advertiser*, "Lanark County Buildings", June 11, 1964, 5.

As well as the building's novelty as a skyscraper, reporting on the design focused in particular on two elements: the newness of the construction and installation technologies, and the amount of glass it would entail.

Frequent mention was made of the 'high-speed lifts', the air conditioning throughout and the typing pool, the telephone exchange and the plan photography unit.⁵⁹ "Two girls at a switchboard not much bigger than a piano can control calls on 35 exchange lines and 400 extensions", proclaimed the Glasgow Herald, with photographs to prove it, as shown below.⁶⁰



Figures 56-58: The telephone exchange, plan photography unit, and the typing pool: all images of new technology from the County Buildings, published in a national newspaper.

Source: "The Gentle Giant of Hamilton", *The Glasgow Herald*, 1964, pull-out supplement. Reproduction courtesy of South Lanarkshire Council Archive.

This positive reception to its design was sustained: *The Official Guide to the Burgh of Hamilton, Lanarkshire*, which was published in 1972, when public

opinion had swung negatively against skyscrapers, notes that “Unlike many of the buildings of the time, it has worn well”.⁶¹

Lanark County Buildings was built to embody the Council’s and central government’s vision of the region as a progressive and modernising authority. The boldness of the architecture suited people’s perception of the times, and the obviously modernising vision of the architectural style fitted with both the public and the Council’s perceptions of what local government could become. Although the past was evident in minor touches such as the town crest in the entrance hall, the overwhelming sense was one of embracing the future. Where previous town halls at Burntisland and Renfrew had seen the past as a source book for appearing current, a hundred years later, such an embrace of historicism had become unpalatable with the desire to present an image of forward-thinking.

6 Conclusions

Those in charge of the creation of town halls saw them as an opportunity to redesign the narrative of their area’s local government, either highlighting their commitment to modernity, or selectively drawing from the past to reaffirm the role of the local authority for the present.

For those first designing town halls at the beginning of the period under study, in the mid and late nineteenth centuries, using the past by reinterpreting design details was a means of showing contemporary relevance, by claiming associations with architecture that was held to be moral, in the case of Burntisland Town Hall, or romantically independent, as with Renfrew Town Hall.

A similarly selective approach to history is exhibited internally in both of Dundee City Chambers and Kirkcaldy Town House. In these buildings, historical elements were curated to create a refined narrative of local government and industry, as well as a somewhat ambiguous decorative scheme. In the case of the latter, the results were met with at best confusion and at worst, derision. The lack of consistency of approach, in reforming the history of the town and the symbols by which it was represented, was not well-received by the citizens.

Citizens were more accepting of a completely new view in the aftermath of World War II, when the architect of Lanark County Buildings designed a building that was entirely forward-looking, to universal approbation and delight in its ultra-modern features. The importance of the past in creating an acceptable

image of the local authority had diminished considerably, such that its absence was a reason for pride.

Local authorities achieved the greatest success in creating a new self-image when their focus was toward the modern. By aligning the building with current trends, rather than focusing on presenting a sanitised version of the past, they were able to link the local authority with optimistic societal trends, to the benefit of the ultimate reception and acceptance of the building.

This chapter has examined how town halls were designed internally and externally to present a particular image of local government to the locality. Chapter 5 explores how these spaces, and their adjoining external areas, were used to support the ritual functioning of the town council. Their design for dynamic and static ceremonial use is discussed to uncover the changing relationship between the Council and the citizens over time.

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¹⁵ Editorial, "New Town House for Kirkcaldy", *The Fife Advertiser*, November 8, 1956, 7.

¹⁶ Editorial, *The Sunday Mail*, February 24, 1955, press cuttings folder, Fife Archive Collection.

¹⁷ Editorial, "Kirkcaldy Mural Painting", *The Fife Advertiser*, October 16, 1954, press cuttings folder.

¹⁸ Ibid.

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²⁰ Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *Tolbooths and Town-houses: Civic Architecture in Scotland to 1833*, (London: The Stationary Office, 1996), 15.

²¹ Built initially as a prison: modifications to include Burgh facilities date to 1888.

²² Burntisland Burgh Council Minutes, March 12, 1844, Collection of Fife Archive.

²³ It seems very likely that John Henderson was selected for the role of architect of the new Town Hall on the basis of familiarity and efficiency, rather than for any stylistic preference – he had designed the Forth Hotel and the houses for the Harbour Master and others connected with the Harbour the previous year, and had made representations in person to the Council regarding both.

²⁴ Allan McLean, "The Scottish Episcopal Church and the Ecclesiological Movement, 1840-60", *Architectural Heritage*, Volume 8, Issue 1, 48.

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²⁶ Augustus Welby Pugin, *Contrasts: Or A Parallel Between The Noble Edifices Of The Middle Ages, And Corresponding Buildings Of The Present Day; Shewing The Present Decay Of Taste* (Edinburgh: J Grant, 1898).

²⁷ Andrew Young, *History of Burntisland*, (Fife: Fife Advertiser, 1924), 84.

²⁸ Young, *History of Burntisland*, 83.

²⁹ Research carried out for this thesis indicates that Scots Baronial was not as ubiquitous for town halls as previously thought, as discussed in Chapter 1.

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- ³⁰ Robert William Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, (Edmonston & Douglas: 1845-52)
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- ³⁸ Gavin McCrone and R. Saville, "The Role of Government," *The Economic Development of Modern Scotland* 1980 (1950), 203; I. G. C. Hutchison. *Scottish Politics in the Twentieth Century*. British History in Perspective series, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 76.
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- ⁴¹ Royal Commission, "16: Lanark County Council", 19.
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- ⁴⁸ W.A. Brodgen, *Aberdeen: An Illustrated Architectural Guide*, (London: Rutland Press, 1986), 57.
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- ⁶¹ Hamilton Town Council, *The Official Guide to the Burgh of Hamilton*, Lanarkshire, 1972, 55.

Chapter 5: The Town Hall and Civic Ritual: Performance and Place

Contents

1	Introduction	184
2	Civic Ritual: An Overview of Theories	185
2.1	Ritual as a Display of Power	186
2.2	Community Cohesion and the Physical Environment of the Town	187
2.3	Confirmation of Group Identity and Social Structure	190
2.4	Conclusions	191
3	Nineteenth Century Ritual at Burntisland and Renfrew Town Halls.....	191
3.1	External Ritual and Borrowed Architecture	193
3.2	Internal Ritual.....	202
4	Twentieth Century Ritual at Dundee City Chambers, Kirkcaldy Town House and Paisley Civic Centre	207
4.1	Internal Ritual and the Importance of Setting: Theories	208
4.2	Internal Ritual: Dundee City Chambers and Kirkcaldy Town House ..	209
4.3	External Ritual and Borrowed Architecture	217
5	Conclusions	231

1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, the way in which the physical form and decoration of the town hall, both internally and externally, is used to express local government's relationship with its history is examined. This chapter explores how the ritual usage and meaning of a town hall, inside and out, can be used to add a further layer of culturally-significant references for interpretation by the citizen, signalling the level of participation and control anticipated in the local government process.

The connection between the performance of civic ritual and its townscape setting in and around the town hall is clear from an examination of the rituals themselves, as this chapter discusses. As Peter Borsay has put it, "town halls, like a stage and scenery, were an inseparable part of the drama they housed."¹ Theories of civic ritual have been explored with reference to, amongst others, medieval and Renaissance Italy, medieval England, nineteenth century America, and contemporary Singapore. While widely varying in geographical and historical context, such studies have common themes that allow their applicability to the context of civic ritual in Scotland. This chapter begins with an overview of these theories, as the basis of the analysis that follows.

The flowering of ritual function in town halls can be attributed to the Victorian formalising culture, within which processions, hymns and, in particular, Masonic rituals came to be strongly associated with the expression of political civic life. The town hall, as the main secular structure of a town, naturally became a place of frequent and complex ritual, from the foundation stone laying to the opening of the Council after their summer recess, to the myriad social functions that were carried out within its walls.

Such ritual required a formal setting that would support this function, and both the interiors and exteriors of town halls were used for this purpose. This chapter examines two such nineteenth century examples to determine the nature of the ritual message being imparted - what it tells us of the concerns of its builders in relation to their position relative to other institutions within the town, their sense of control over the immediate environment, and the power they held or wished to hold. The same analysis is carried out on the twentieth century buildings of Dundee City Chambers, Kirkcaldy Town House and Paisley Civic Centre, to explore how the expression and nature of ritual has changed over time.

The role of neighbouring structures assisting with political ritual is also examined, with particular reference to how buildings were used as part of

dynamic rituals, that absorbed the town as a framework for the definition of the new buildings. Such ceremonies fell out of fashion in the twentieth century, in parallel to the growth in the provision of static dedicated civic spaces adjacent to the new town hall. The effect of this shift in provision was - somewhat counterintuitively - to lessen the role of the citizen in local government. This chapter will demonstrate that while greater civic participation in political ritual was designed for, active engagement in political decision-making was discouraged through the provision of an unwelcoming physical environment that signalled the reduction of the citizen's input in local government.

2 Civic Ritual: An Overview of Theories

This section examines how theories of ritual are reflected in the design of town halls, and in the key ritual events associated with their construction. Theory relating to both civic ritual and processions is considerable, and spans the fields of anthropology, sociology and cultural and political geography.²

The key theorists whose writings are applicable to the town hall are Émile Durkheim and Victor Turner. Durkheim is considered the first sociologist, and his book *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* forms the basis of much further writing on ritual theory.³ His concept that social order depends on ritual and ceremonial performances is widely accepted.

Victor Turner was a cultural anthropologist who created a framework of attributes of ritual, including formality, rigidity, condensation and repetition, which is commonly used for interrogating ritual.⁴ He also developed the idea of liminality; a state of otherness between belonging to one social group and becoming part of another. This idea has been used to describe the experience of being part of a civic procession, when there is a resetting of the cultural norms.

Extensive work has been done by, amongst others, Catherine Bell, Roy Rappaport and Sally Falk Moore and Barbara Myerhoff in drawing together different fields of thought on ritual for their survey works on the topic. There is little specific research on nineteenth century civic ritual in the United Kingdom, with the exception of a detailed investigation of the contemporary Common Riding ritual in Selkirk, by Gwen Kennedy Neville. Neville's research, carried out over a number of years, provides a framework for examining similar events.

The following sections detail the most relevant themes of ritual that relate to town halls and their townscape setting.

2.1 *Ritual as a Display of Power*

Civic ritual as a display of power by the existing power holders is a theme explored by many. Catherine Bell notes that such events serve to strengthen the more socially dominant group, through emphasising the strength of the performing group within the group consciousness formed by the ritual.⁵ She comments that that one of the means through which ritual defines legitimate power arrangements is through the extravagant exposition: 'Excessive displays of wealth, material, resources . . . all tangibly testify to the fruitful fit between the particular social leadership and the way things should be.'⁶

Considering the design of the typical town hall building, we note that it was designed with the express intent of making it appear the most decorous and impressive building in the town. It was sited in a prominent location, where most citizens would pass it as part of their daily travels. As discussed in Chapter 3, it frequently incorporated an element of height, such as a clock or bell tower, to emphasise its dominance.

In foundation stone laying and opening ceremonies – discussed in detail in Section 3 below - all participants were dressed in their finest clothing, with the Provost and Magistrates wearing their chains of office and the Freemasons in full regalia, often trimmed with gilded cord. The symbolic trowel used for the laying was always made of silver and was usually both oversized and elaborately chased, as were the Freemasons' tools. The streets were hung with garlands and flags. A display of human resource was realised by the factories and farmers releasing their employees to take part in the event, and frequently two or more bands played during the procession. Taken together, these elements of design and ritual constituted an elaborate sensory message as to the power of those who built town halls and organised their rituals.

In *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* and *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, by Edward Muir⁷ and Richard C. Trexler, respectively, the enactment of power by the city's civic leaders through rituals is fully explored as the dominant theme of such events.⁸ Susan Davis argues that rituals are shaped by the contextual power structure and ultimately shaped by those who wish to influence that structure, whether it be to confirm it or otherwise. She describes the ritual process as not only an attempt to enforce a particular power structure, but also a time of negotiation of what the power structure is.⁹ Steven Lukes suggests

the nature of the power enactment might be interrogated by investigating who arranged the ritual – for the purposes of this research, the foundation stone laying or opening ceremony- and the rules it is governed by, what interests they serve, as well as examining the objects that this group hold to be significant.¹⁰

In *An Analysis of Social Power*, Robert Bierstedt notes that power is “the presentation of force . . . Power symbolizes the force which may be applied in any social situation and supports the authority which is applied”.¹¹ The foundation stone and opening ceremonies, which commonly included the local regiment in the processional element and by means of an elevated position close to or on the ceremonial podium, can be seen in this light as a means to demonstrate the force supporting the dominant power structure, in a non-confrontational environment. Bierstadt also notes that “an organised minority can control an unorganised majority”, suggesting that the carefully controlled format of such events was a demonstration of organisational ability, confirming the power of the existing structure.¹²

2.2 Community Cohesion and the Physical Environment of the Town

The function of civic ritual as a means of creating a sense of community is a common observation. Berlin describes civic rituals as “a symbolic thread that binds together the social fabric of the town”, while Sallie Marston comments that mass public rituals are demonstrations of community solidarity, as well as complex commentaries on the political economy of urban-industrial relations.¹³ Charles Phythian-Adams describes civic ritual as the highest expression of the urban community’s idea of itself.¹⁴

In foundation stone laying and opening ceremonies, we think of the cheering of the crowds, the sounds of the bands, the communal singing of the hundredth psalm and speaking of prayers, which together create the impression of shared values. Lily Kong and Brenda Yeoh comment that through this process “they demonstrate community power, solidarity and group cohesion”.¹⁵

Temma Kaplan claims that civic rituals create a sense of community and forge a collective consciousness, while Paul Connerton states that ritual performances are important in building up collective memory, which helps to build up a sense of home.¹⁶ This memory is aided by the availability of striking images from the parade: the sight of thousands marching in unison, the sound of multiple bands playing, the abundant decoration of normally plain buildings, the pageantry of the foundation stone laying ceremony itself, and its event-specific symbols: the

silver trowel, the masons' tools, the over-sized key to the front door. Kong and Yeoh note that such images form the substance of collective memory, aiding the formulation of sense of place.¹⁷ In this way, a sense of community becomes linked with the physicality of the town: the urban environment is identified with the individual's sense of belonging, key for establishing the town hall as an essential identifier for the town: the building that symbolises the town's idea of self.

The value of the physical environment of the streets walked through during a procession as a temporary stage for the display of public life is noted by a number of commentators. They are viewed as forming a distinctive collective landscape for asserting collective life and shared values.¹⁸ At Renfrew, the streets, dressed up in evergreens, were hung with banners and decorated with swathes of people lining the pavements in their best dress, created a suitable setting for 'liminality'; a phrase coined by Turner, and described above as a 'time apart' when normal social conventions are suspended to allow focus on core community values and axioms.¹⁹ The physicality of the time apart was matched and augmented in the nineteenth century by the granting of a half day off work to take part in the procession, creating a holiday atmosphere that heightened the sense of special occasion.

Mervyn James notes that civic ritual was an opportunity for the town to present itself to the world, not just to the local gentry, but those visiting from further afield; it helped to extend and confirm the network of people associated with the town whose wealth and power might make them useful.²⁰ It was an opportunity to display the town's resources of ingenuity and surplus wealth, enhancing the town's 'honour'. This notion of display was achieved by the production of a great spectacle, involving many social groups drawn from industry, government, the Masons, military volunteers and religion, in a highly decorated environment. The differing occupations of participants showed the great variety of interests in the town, in itself a great display of the importance of the town.²¹

Michel Foucault argues that spectacle that carries the threat of punishment, is perceived within the realm of abstract consciousness: Kong and Yeoh take this further and suggest that where spectacle magnifies triumph and achievement, one's perception absorbs this beyond the immediate event as an ongoing association with its purpose.²² They point to how the spectacle of the parade can be used to promote a sense of awe and wonder, which 'connotes triumph and proclaims achievement', noting how this can be achieved by the deliberate creation

of spectacle: such as we see through the involvement of the Freemasons.²³ This effect is dissipated to a wider audience through the movement of the procession around a larger area, which multiplies the effects by transforming streets into theatres of pomp.

Neville defines a town's symbolic meaning as that of order, community, and loyalty and theorises that it draws its strength from physicality: its buildings, streets and other open spaces become icons in the local town culture, an idea echoed by Turner, who describes it as a 'ritual topography'.²⁴ The route taken by the processional element of the foundation stone laying ceremony can thus be read as an act of definition: this route marks out the important parts of the town: the points from which it identifies itself. Processions commonly passed by the train station, the church, the mills, as well as places already made sacred through public ceremony such as the market cross or public square before coming to rest in front of the new hall: a new entry along the path of definition, its incorporation providing immediate legitimacy.

Peter Goheen notes that such processions encompass the principal institutions of the town: economic, governmental, social, religious allowing its participants to assert their connection with each of these elements.²⁵ John Berger claims that the route goes further than providing an associational value, and that the route signifies a capturing of parts of the city, allowing participants to see it as the product of their work, rather than being overwhelmed by their own insignificance in relation to its vastness.²⁶

Muir theorises that there is a crossover of politically-significant ritual sites and religious sites, suggesting that foundation stone rituals may be borrowing pre-existing associations of sacredness from religious sites with the aim of bleeding this through to the new development by linking them through the procession.²⁷ The procession can thus be seen as redefining the hierarchy of what Turner calls 'politico-ritual' structures in the town, so that the new hall is given both administrative and celebratory associations.²⁸

James Western notes that buildings from the past can be assigned new meanings; the parade process can combine, in the words of Kong and Yeoh, "the architectural spectacularity of the past and the animated spectacularity of the moment."²⁹ The buildings that form part of the route can thus be transformed from their previous associations with the town before its current phase of development to become part of its current heritage: part of the fabric that defines the richness of the contemporary town. The final destination of the

parade, at the site of the town hall, and usually in a central location replete with historic associations, conjures a sense of occasion and ceremony.

2.3 Confirmation of Group Identity and Social Structure

Through marching within their group formation, the procession participants gain the opportunity to assert themselves as a group to the entire community, and through their orderly displays, gain community respect.³⁰ Steven Lukes argues that "ritual helps to define as authoritative certain ways of seeing society . . . it draws people's attention to certain forms of relationship and activity".³¹ Roy Rappaport notes that ritual allows the dominant group to be "both highly differentiated and exalted as a corporate unity above the interests of the group".³²

By forcing concentration on the social structure, it allows it to be opened up for renewal and reinvention; as Bell notes, such "rituals are "social dramas" . . . by which the status quo is taken apart, revitalised and often reconstituted in changed ways".³³

Kong and Yeoh note that the parade mirrors social structure in miniature: ordinary people making up the bulk of the marchers, while the elite are given privileged locations, both in the parade and in the final ceremony as well.³⁴ Their position as the elite is further marked by their invitation to a private celebratory dinner or reception afterwards; an opportunity not open to the masses. James notes that through civic ritual, "social differentiation, with its stress on the segmented occupational roles in the urban community, and its vertical structure of status and authority, is if anything more emphatically spelt out", bringing to mind images of the various procession groups in their carefully-agreed order parading past the citizens in neat rows, with a strong sense of group defined by their banners, floats and specific accessories, be they the tools of their trade or masonic aprons.³⁵ Steven Daniels and Denis Cosgrove describe this as "rehearsing the political and moral order", a view supported by Berger and Davis, who note that those who take part are more aware of how they belong to a certain class, and where that class sits in the social order.³⁶

This is evidenced by the inclusion of both the older guilds within the town and the factory workers in the procession. This was a symbol of the marrying of old and new, of space being made for the new type of workers, of acceptance, and of a new legitimacy between the past and present. The unity displayed by those marching, to their own groups and as part of the wider procession symbolises their unity with and therefore tacit obedience to, the corporate body of the town.

Muir notes that the order displayed by the wide range of participants in a civic procession is a “statement of political harmony”, which may explain the extreme length and broad participation of some of the processions studied: the more groups involved in the ordered procession, the more complete the expression of local unity.³⁷

In the speeches of the foundation stone laying and opening ceremonies, this opening up of the existing social structure is effected by referring to local myth, historic events, notable local topography as well as social anecdotes about the townspeople in the context of the new hall. In this way, speakers were redefining the town’s cultural inventory to include the building. Neville notes that such “tightly-packed events” effectively re-educated the participants in the new social norms.³⁸ The codifying of a revised social hierarchy through the procession, the continued dominance of the church in the proceedings, and the speeches delivering local content on history, society and industry can be seen as the core elements of this re-education, with the participants delivering their tacit approval for the revised culture through their participation.

2.4 Conclusions

In applying ritual theory to the study of town halls, one can conclude that these buildings supplied a destination and a setting for ritual, both inside and out. The buildings themselves incorporated features of ritual through their elaborate design and provided an appropriate location for the town’s civic, political and often social rituals. The foundation stone laying and opening ceremonies associated with their construction created a sense of shared community, while reaffirming the social order and power structure. In having the town hall as their ultimate destination and object, these associations were transferred to the building, which became a physical representation of those values. As affirmed by the theories detailed above and as will be demonstrated by the examples below, the town hall acted as a linchpin for civic ritual within the urban environment.

3 Nineteenth Century Ritual at Burntisland and Renfrew Town Halls

Civic ritual processions played an important part in defining the contemporary social and political order within the physical extents of the nineteenth century Scottish town, and occasionally, into the early years of the twentieth century. Such rituals placed the town hall within a culturally-significant itinerary of local buildings that formed the symbolic structure of the economic and social

hierarchy. In acting as the ultimate destination, the town hall's civic role in the locality was sanctioned by the mass participation in the march. The liminality of such performances - as explained below - ensured a particularly condensed communal experience, where mass obeisance to the message of order and hierarchy was the only plausible response.

By looking at Burntisland and Renfrew town halls in more detail, a greater understanding of how external ritual defined the town hall can be gained, as well as a sense of the messages imparted by the interiors of these early town halls, which were meant for the engagement of the elite. Burntisland and Renfrew town halls typify the dimensional extents of earlier town halls, being built in the commercial core of their towns within a tight plot area, in close proximity to the market cross.³⁹ This choice of location also meant that there was no external area associated with the town hall. This might be viewed as a limiting factor for the performance of ritual and the resultant definition of the town council and the building itself; however, in both cases, the most important public rituals were enacted externally to the building in the more dynamic setting of the streets of the locality with a much more exclusive ritual role played by the interior of the building. The town was used as a performance space imbued with meanings that could be appropriated through ritual connecting the building to the town.

As will be discussed in relation to Renfrew Town Hall, the most important ritual for a town hall was that of the foundation stone laying ceremony, where vast numbers of local and regional citizens could be expected to march through the town over the course of a half day, with much pageantry and fanfare. More modest external rituals in the form of kirking – where locally-elected Members marched through the town to attend a church service en masse where the work of the Council over the year to come was blessed - were performed on an annual basis, and still involved the dynamic use of the town in the service of the definition of the hierarchy of local politics, as will be seen from the discussion of Burntisland town hall below.

The buildings themselves incorporated features of ritual through their elaborate design and provided an appropriate location for the town's civic, political and often social rituals. Such civic ceremonies created a sense of shared community, while reaffirming the social order and power structure.

3.1 External Ritual and Borrowed Architecture

Built at a time of transition between the old aristocratic-led system and the new more democratic forms of government, Burntisland was at the fore of the local government movement in Scotland. As a consequence, the builders of the town hall sought to associate themselves not with the previous government, but with the Church; a body of enduring local respect that transcended party politics, at least in appearances. It did this through its external architectural form, as discussed in the previous chapter, and through the performance of frequent rituals that linked the town hall with Burntisland's oldest church, the sixteenth century St.Columba's Parish Kirk.

Such ecclesiastical legitimation sat alongside the determinedly secular nature of the interior, as well as the close proximity to the market cross, both of which highlighted the Town Council's wish to be aligned with commercial interests. For the Town Council, there was no conflict between these two providers of legitimacy, expressed through rituals and physical symbols within and without the building.

The associations with the power of the church were manifested through rituals such as 'kirking', whereby the newly elected members of the Burgh Council would march in their robes from the Town Hall to the Burntisland Parish Church for a special service to mark their new status on annual basis. They were led in this procession by the town chamberlain, and the sight of the magistrates clad in red with their distinctive hats marching through the town, as shown in the photograph below, was undoubtedly an impressive display of control over the physical environment of the town. The Burgh Minutes also note that the Provost was to be accompanied to Church every Sunday by two Councillors, indicating that this display of power was to be reconfirmed every week.⁴⁰

The power of the magistrates was further underlined by the separate seating provided for them within the church, where an elaborate pew, as shown in the image to the right below, was made available for their exclusive use. The Burntisland magistrates were paying respect to the town's oldest and most venerable institution, but also exhibiting their control, by using the town as a parade ground, and sitting amongst, but apart from the common worshipper.



Figures 1&2: Willie Brand the Town Officer, leading Provost Meldrum and the other councillors to the church for an unveiling ceremony in 1944, and painting by Andrew Young, The Magistrates' Seat, 1906.

Source: Collection of Burntisland Heritage Trust and Collection of Fife Council.

The magistrates of Burntisland balanced their need for connection with the church with links to secular business interests in the town hall interior, discussed in the following section, and through borrowing the associations of the market cross. The cross - a powerful symbol of the local economy and the livelihood of the town as a whole - was located in the middle of the road adjacent to the site of the town hall. Its location is shown on the eighteenth century John Elphinstone map, replicated below.



Figure 3: Location of Burntisland Market Cross, shown in purple, in relation to the location of the town hall, shown in red, and St.Columba's Kirk, shown in green.

Source: Author's overlay on John Elphinstone Map of c.1745, Collection of the British Museum.

An essential feature throughout market towns since the Middle Ages, the importance of the market cross to the town hall in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is demonstrated through the conscious effort made to link them physically. Town halls are often built in the immediate vicinity of the market cross: as, for example, at Ayr Town Hall, completed in 1828. In other towns and cities, the link is artificially created through moving the market cross into close proximity to the new site, as at Inverness Town Hall, completed in 1882. Bradshaw's Journal described their importance in 1841 as follows:

"As crosses were in every place designed to check a worldly spirit, so market crosses were intended to inculcate upright intentions and fairness of dealing. In almost every town, which had a religious foundation, there was one of these crosses, to which the peasants resorted to vend provisions."⁴¹

By locating the town hall in close proximity to the Market Cross, the Burgh Council was aligning itself with the heart of the town's prosperity and judicious practice, as defined in and continuing from the Middle Ages. The historic connection between the ritual of the market sale, the values of fairness and civic morality and the Town Hall were important to appropriate, along with those of religious import described above.

The balance between competing influences was finely wrought. The 1845 Town Hall at Burntisland was strategically located between the Market and St. Columba's Kirk, as shown above on the Elphinstone map. To participate in religious activities, it was necessary for the magistrates to literally turn their backs on financial concerns, to which they could return upon completion of their religious duties.

The borrowing of associations with the Market Cross allowed the town council to build on the dynamic linkage with the Church, reinforced on a weekly basis through the process of the attendance at service by the magistrates. By managing the two influences, through a combination of dynamic ritual and strategic location, the Town Hall could claim to be serving both in the governance of the town.

For Renfrew Town Hall, built in the latter half of the nineteenth century, there was no need to carry out legitimising rituals of a solely religious nature. While the church was still the most important social and cultural reference point, civic society had developed to the extent that religion was no longer the sole focus of

civic ritual. This is made clear through an examination of the foundation stone laying ceremony in 1872: outside of events involving the monarchy, surely the most important civic ritual in the Victorian canon.

For the town hall to provide an appropriate setting for performing this ritual, it was necessary to have part of the building constructed by the time the foundation stone was laid. In the case of Renfrew Town Hall, the building was sufficiently advanced to have the stone levered into position 30 feet above ground,⁴² and a photograph taken on the day of the ceremony, shows the building approximately one third completed.

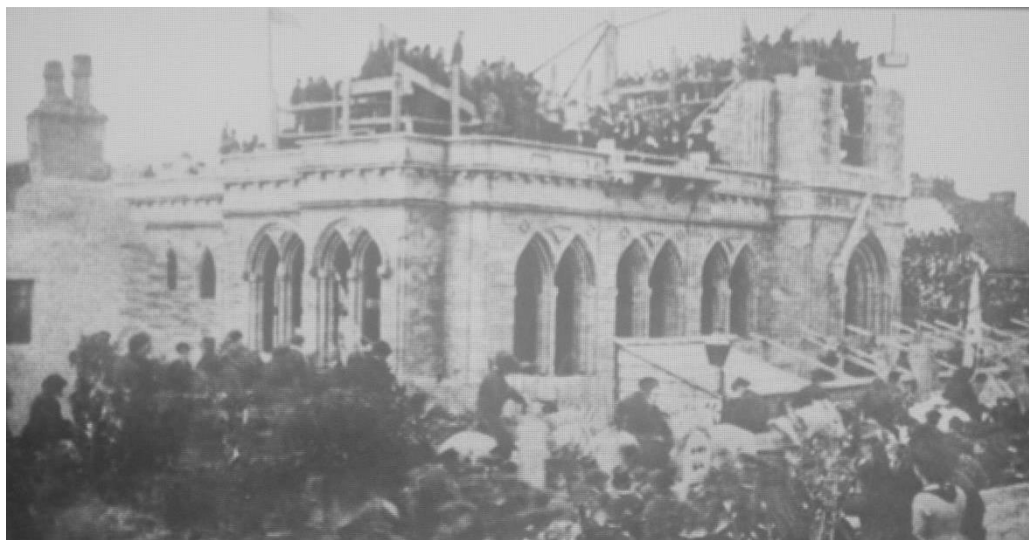


Figure 4: Foundation stone laying at Renfrew Town Hall: note the foundation stone is just visible, being suspended in the top right of the image in front of the assembled crowds.

Source: Collection of Renfrew Town Hall Museum.

The route of the foundation stone laying ceremony defined the centre of the town at the town hall, through the careful arrangement of the parade route, as shown on the plan on the following page.

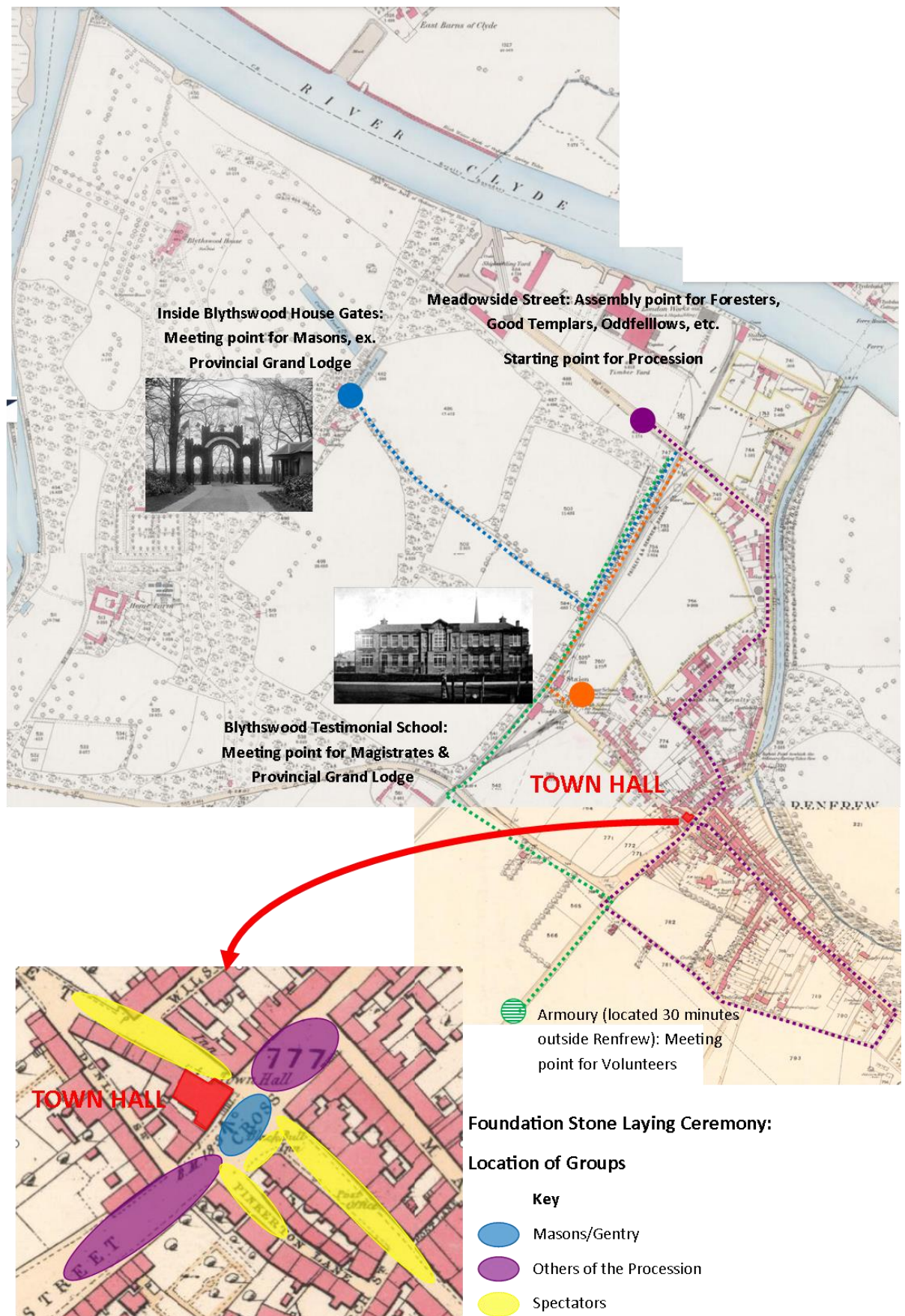


Figure 5: The procession route for the Foundation Stone Laying Ceremony for Renfrew Town Hall.

Source: Ordnance Survey town plan maps with author's overlay.

As can be seen from the plan above, the route of the foundation stone laying ceremony circumnavigated the town, creating a civic outline that defined the most important social groups and the industries that serviced the town's economy and joining the new Town Hall to that narrative. As was common for these ceremonies, different social groups met first at separate locations, before joining the rest of the parade at a general congregation point. This allowed each group to define itself as part of the ceremony in isolation to the main parade. The location for the group meetings was chosen to have a particular significance to those within the group in stating their position within the ritual and local society as a whole.

The defence of the town was represented by the Volunteers walking to the start point of the parade from the armoury thirty minutes outside of the town. The importance of the Blythwood family was demonstrated in two ways: the Council met for the ceremony at the Blythwood Testimonial school - a gift to the town from the family-, while the Masons met within the Blythwood estate gates - quite far outside the town proper, but essential to defining its link with the family as the local aristocracy. But the most important meeting place was the general congregation point, to which all the individual groups walked and from which the parade proper started. This was located at Meadowside street: beside the train station, the river Clyde and thus the ship building industry it supported, and the Renfrew ferry, which provided significant revenue for the Council, the opportunity for locals to access employment opportunities outwith the immediate area, and facilitated the movement of goods from within Renfrew to their target markets. In choosing this location as their starting point, the Town Council were affirming the essential role the river-based economy played in the expansion of Renfrew.

Starting at Meadowside Street, the parade moved south towards the older part of Renfrew, passing by the large chemical works on Orchard Street, before turning onto Renfrew Street, where it passed by the Free Church. The parade then turned onto Hairst Street, where it moved passed the site of the Town Hall, and then down Glebe Street and Croft Street to turn into Mill Vennel, in close proximity to the Millburn Bridge dieworks.

Having included all of Renfrew's major industrial sites within the parade route, it then turned west up the High Street, to make its final dramatic approach on the Town Hall, the half-finished tower of which would have been visible as soon as the parade turned onto the High Street, although some fifteen minutes' walk distant.

Upon reaching the Town Hall however, a strict hierarchy of location was enforced, with the Freemasons allowed the prime position along with the gentry in front of the building, others of the parade to the left and right, and the spectators everywhere else, as indicated in the image above. The local newspaper described the scene thus:

"every coigne of vantage, north, south, east and west had its full share of spectators – fair faces peeped from the skylight windows of the old thatched houses; while a few of the more daring of the other sex were to be seen perched on chimney tops . . . In the surrounding streets a sea of up-turned faces to the number of several thousands watched the progress of the work. All this, with an abundant display of bunting, with wreathes of evergreens bedecking house-fronts, and flags floating in the breeze from windows and house-tops, made up a most imposing spectacle."⁴³

The drama of the procession was created by the sheer number of participants. The local newspaper estimated the number at over 2,000 people in the parade alone, noting that it took the parade twenty-five minutes to pass over the same point from start to finish. The procession was dominated by groups articulated by their trade, all of which included some form of display, such as examples of their work, or men demonstrating their craft in a float pulled by horses. A sense of shared values was reinforced by all sectors of society participating in the procession and sharing the same experience.

As well as serving as a means of borrowing the architecture of the town to redefine its self-image to include the town hall, the creation of the town hall also gave an opportunity to legitimise the political control the Town Council exercised over Renfrew. The town's power structure was well-established within local society by the second half of the nineteenth century, with the town having been a Royal Burgh since 1397. The Town Council's remit had also grown significantly in recent years. It was becoming a wealthy entity in its own right, controlling

much of the built fabric of the town and having a very visible hand in the local economy through its rental of retail outlets, control of the Renfrew Ferry as well as the schools, abattoirs and other local industries serving the town. The building of an obviously expensive town hall would help to legitimise that control in two ways: by seeming to respond appropriately to the grand history of Renfrew as the ancient seat of the House of Stewart and by pointing out the inadequacies of the previous building for serving the buoyant local economy, as well as the strengths of the current Council in meeting modern challenges.

The pride of local people in their shared heritage was appealed to by the Provost Gallacher, during the foundation stone laying ceremony:

“For ages, it [Renfrew] was . . . chief place of the illustrious family, which for several centuries gave sovereigns to these realms, and whose descendants have occupied the thrones of other kingdoms. I allude to the Royal Family of Stuart, one of the most ancient in Europe. They had their earliest possessions in the Parish of Renfrew. We know that individuals feel proud of the antiquity of their families . . . May not the authorities of a Burgh justly take pleasure in its antiquity . . . It is not merely the head Burgh, but it is the only Royal Burgh in the County”

At a banquet held later, a more direct link was made between the grandeur of the new building and the illustrious heritage of the Burgh. Rev. Mr Stephen put the connection succinctly: “a building worthy of . . . the ancient home of the Stuarts of Scotland-- a building worthy of the town that gives a name to the heir apparent of the throne of this kingdom”, while Rev. Dr. Gillan drew parallels between the demolished Renfrew Castle and the new Town Hall, as well as rationalising the Town Hall as akin to the improvement of religious structures in the Town:

“The time was when we might have met and spoken of our magnificent Castle . . . Renfrew is famous in history. Walter the High Steward married a daughter of Bruce and hence originated the House of Stuart, of which we have little to boast. . . The town is advancing. The old kirk has given place to a new one with a handsome spire . . . and now we are getting a noble building as a Town Hall”

The message of the strength of the local economy and the importance of Renfrew as the County Town was dwelt on at length during the opening ceremony by the Provost, who described Renfrew as the

"capital town of the County of Renfrew, a shire which, though in point of extent one of the least in Scotland, has by its agriculture, mineral riches, commerce, manufacture, and population, attained a very high rank, and, on various grounds, has many claims to general notice here that the election for a representative of Renfrewshire in Parliament takes place. Here too, the Commissioners of Supply and the Justices of the Peace in Quarter Sessions meet to discuss and transact their onerous County business. . . . Our Corporation revenue is considerable . . . This happy state of matters, with the enlarged accommodation demanded for conducting of the continual increasing Burgh and County Business induced us to resolve to take down our Municipal Buildings"⁴⁴

Through building the case for the necessity of the Town Hall by linking it with the town's aristocratic history and its booming economy and industrious Town Council, those performing the foundation stone laying and opening speeches were associating these virtues with the building itself, which then became part of the narrative of the building. This is evident from the editorials in newspapers when the building was burnt down. In 1878, the Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette described the Town Hall as:

"a more handsome and commodious suite of municipal buildings probably than is possessed by any town in the West of Scotland . . . The increasing prosperity of the Royal Burgh of Renfrew was so marked that about 1870 it was considered necessary that suitable buildings for the transaction of the affairs of the town should be erected"⁴⁵

This indicates that by 1878, five years after its completion, the town hall had fully absorbed the values ascribed to it during the foundation stone laying and opening ceremonies. Instead of the building requiring justification, it now was the embodiment of the themes the Town Council wanted to project about Renfrew, its history, and its local government.

The ritual importance of the building was not limited to the front elevation, although the tower and Provost's balcony focused attention there. The building is highly decorative on all elevations and was designed to be viewed in the round, a property facilitated by the Council, who purchased the surrounding buildings with a view to creating "a great improvement in the locality" through their demolition.⁴⁶ They boasted at the foundation stone laying ceremony that these would create "a large open space around the new buildings": an act that would

create a new zone cleansed of the associations of trade to the rear of the building.

By removing the mainly small-scale residential buildings surrounding the Town Hall, and paving over the resulting space, the Council were redefining the external space as belonging to the Town Hall, and by association, the rituals of arrival, congregation and departure carried out there. This was enhanced subsequent to the 1878/9 alterations, when a larger entrance was created to the rear elevation, leading to the new main entrance to the Chambers. The elite members of society attending ritual functions in the town hall, whether social or political, could congregate externally in a space that had no other function than to serve as a gathering point for them. It was important that the architecture of the rear elevation of the building was of sufficient quality that it did not read as an afterthought to the front elevation, but rather as a continuation of that architectural treatment, albeit of less dramatic proportions. The design of the building in the round was thus a result of the extended ritual requirements of the Town Council.

The acceptance of Renfrew and Burntisland Town Halls with their respective populations relied heavily on the use of ritual. The performance of dynamic rituals of kirking and foundation stone laying connecting the town to the new building drew in associations that linked it with local institutions of high standing and moral fortitude while the active inclusion of large numbers of locals occupied in the same activity as the politicians in the latter helped ensure a sense of engagement with the political process. In both buildings, the interiors continued this ritual function, albeit modified for receipt by a more select public who would look to it to provide a set of aspirations that linked with their concerns, whether of mercantile or aristocratic intent.

3.2 *Internal Ritual*

The interiors of Burntisland and Renfrew Town Halls indicated they were designed for ritual function of a more exclusive kind, although still intended for public access through the provision of sizeable double doors, broad entrance halls and ceremonial staircases.

Neither building was lavishly dressed with symbols of the past. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, Burntisland Town Council was keen to disassociate itself from previous administrations. Renfrew borrowed from the stylistic language of the

thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries to connect with abstract ideas of self-governance rather than as a means of linking itself specifically to local history. In fact, as has been discussed in the previous chapter, their concern was with appearing modern at all costs. For Burntisland and Renfrew, the town hall was a space for modern public ritual above all else: a place for the enactment of spectacle, both inside and out.

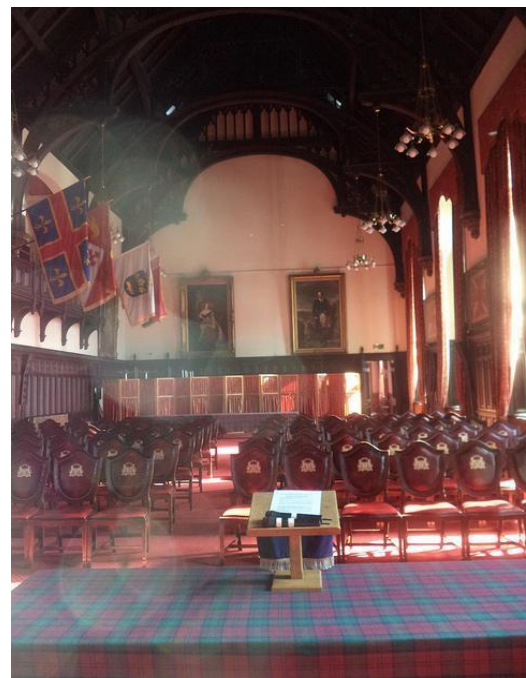
Burntisland Town Council did not retain anything of purely symbolic value from the old Town House. The Burghers' primary interest was in ensuring they recouped its full value through the sale of its furnishings: a committee was appointed to sell the wood, doors, windows and ironwork before the plan for the new Town Hall was even produced.⁴⁷

Only two items were brought with them from the Town House to the Town Hall. One was the town bell, cast in 1677 from a previous bell dating to 1595 and believed to have been bought second hand from Berwick.⁴⁸ The other was a sizeable brass chandelier, cast in 1819, that is likely to have been hung in the former Council chambers.⁴⁹ Both items' primary importance is economic: the Bell and the chandelier would have been of high financial value, and they were grouped together in discussions, with no eulogising discussion of either recorded in the Burgh Minutes, as was common for items of symbolic value. This suggests both that their removal was a matter of course and that there were no strong emotional connections with either.

The building interior was otherwise free of connections to Burntisland's past: such was the continuity of local government in the town that overt legitimating imagery was not necessary to emphasise the Burgh Council's control.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the exterior architecture of Burntisland town hall referenced historic church architecture, through its use of the potent language of the gothic style in the design of the tower and the fenestration in particular. The interior does not favour this stylistic language however, and does not borrow legitimacy from church decorations or furnishing by appropriating them for this secular space. The exposed beam ceiling is of a simple construction without the complex carved elements so common in churches and indeed later iterations of this style; as at Aberdeen Town House for example. A common feature of secular hall design - the minstrel's gallery - is located at the south end of the hall, above the stage. There is no stained glass nor were there any religious pictures.

The original furniture has been removed, however in his remembrance of the Town Hall before the 1905 extension, Baillie Erskine noted that the furniture was “plain and commonplace”. He said that “The Provost and the two Baillies were provided with chairs, but the Honorary Treasurer and the dignified Dean, along with the Councillors, had to be contented with forms that had a “back” to them, and covered with “plush upholstery”, which leads to the assumption that there were no ornately carved pieces that might carry religious overtones in the original scheme.⁵⁰



Figures 6&7: The simple timber beam ceiling of Burntisland Town Hall, and that at Aberdeen Town House.

Source: Author’s photographs, site surveys, June 16, and April 8, 2014 respectively.

The fireplace has a simple stone surround, and the only decorative features are four projections above the platform area and supporting the Minstrel’s Gallery. These show the thistle, the Burntisland Crest, the Saltire, and the Lion Rampant, as illustrated below.



Figure 8: The cantilevers supporting the Minstrel's Gallery are painted with a variety of symbolic imagery.

Source: Author's image, site survey, June 16, 2014.

None of these symbols carries religious overtones, but instead they connect the Town Hall with this town's past as a Burgh and with Scotland: strictly secular concerns. It is not surprising that it came to be described as "the most unpretentious place possible" by the early twentieth century.⁵¹

Those performing and observing ritual inside the building were expected to be more concerned with Burntisland's role as a mercantile trading centre for the east of Scotland than with its connections with local religious bodies. Economic concerns were more important than links with the town, in contrast to the strong religious overtones to the actions of the magistrates when outwith the Town Hall.

Renfrew Town Hall also employed plasterwork bosses to assert the town's connections outside of the Burgh. Unlike Burntisland, Renfrew town had a very good relationship with its aristocracy, and chose to celebrate this connection in the Banqueting Hall on the first floor. Here, three sizeable plasterwork bosses containing variously the coat of arms of the Burgh, the Stewart family, and the Bruce family, are joined together by ornamental garlands and mounted on the wall behind the stage area as shown below.



Figure 9: The three bosses containing the Coats of Arms of the Bruce family, the Burgh and the Stewarts, on the wall of Renfrew Banqueting Hall.

Source: Author's photograph, site survey, October 23, 2014.

The prominence given to establishing this connection in this area of civic ritual would suggest that the aristocracy were an important link for the Council to promote. However, there is no repetition of these coats of arms anywhere else in the building. The relatively plain Council Chamber is adorned with images of the Burgh crest: above the two entrance doors and in a fire screen- but no direct reference to the Houses of Stewart or Bruce are made. Similarly, on the outside of the building, a large Prince of Wales feather was added to the base of the spire in the 1878/9 rebuilding, but it was not placed at the very top of the tower, which would have been considered the most important position. Instead, as a weather vane, was the Burgh Coat of Arms and a ship, symbolic of the Burgh's economic progress through the shipbuilding industry.

The segregation of symbolism relating to the aristocracy can be linked to the usage patterns of the visitors to the building. While ordinary citizens of Renfrew might choose to visit the Chambers to witness political ritual in action, the Banqueting Hall above would draw a more exclusive clientele - those who had been invited to take part in a recital, a banquet or dance, for example. This is underlined by the contents of Colonel Campbell's speech to his 600 guests upon the opening of the building, held in the Banqueting Hall. In it, he spoke at some length of the aristocratic connections of the town, having foregone mentioning

them when giving his speech at the foundation stone laying ceremony, where the general public were present en masse. The Hall could expect to be host to civic rituals for the upper and middle classes only, while more general access would be considered appropriate in the Council Chamber. This was especially likely given the contemporary extension of suffrage bringing an air of novelty to those able to observe the politicians in action, knowing they could influence them for the first time.

This suggests that it was deemed appropriate to direct a message of aristocratic connections towards the upper classes of Renfrew and the surrounding areas: the merchants, the gentry and the clergy, for whom perhaps, an aristocratic rationalisation was more effective than one of economic need. For the general public, a focus on the importance of the Burgh better served their aspirations.

Both Burntisland and Renfrew Town Halls carefully managed the messages imparted through the decoration of their internal ritual spaces, in order to ensure that the audience for each might make the appropriate connections with pre-existing institutions of merit. They relied on the citizens to decide where they chose to access on the inside of the building, assuming that the cultural norms of the class system would provide the guidance necessary on which, if any, was the appropriate entrance for each individual.

4 Twentieth Century Ritual at Dundee City Chambers, Kirkcaldy Town House and Paisley Civic Centre

With Burntisland and Renfrew Town Halls, much of the ritual activity connected with the Town Hall was externalised and dynamic, moving through the town to define local politics from connections with religious institutions and commercial interests. The interior of the town hall itself provided an extension of this ritual function, designed to impart a different message to that communicated by the ritual events that included large numbers of the public.

Even before the mass loss of men from World War I reduced the pool of potential participants dramatically, by the turn of the twentieth century large-scale rituals that moved through the town had tapered off significantly. The will to engage the public with the political process moved towards the provision of a dedicated external gathering space as the preferred method of engagement, rather than assuming a role for the wider town as a place for ritual. Such squares, framed by the town hall, allowed for a more passive and static engagement with political events. Instead of drawing its legitimacy through its

associations with other buildings, the town hall was increasingly assured of its own importance, viewing the citizens more as an audience than active participants in the ritual political process. This is evidenced both externally and internally, where lay participants of the political process are increasingly contained and controlled by the architecture and spatial planning of the building and its setting.

The following sections consider the nature of the ritual spaces provided within and without Dundee City Chambers, Kirkcaldy Town House and Paisley Civic Centre. The chronological decline of local authorities' will to view the local population as active participants is also observed. As the Chambers for Paisley Town Council and Renfrewshire Council were not constructed, no conclusions can be drawn as to the approach taken to their ritual functioning. Their external effect as part of the overall scheme is interpreted in the relevant discussion below through the use of images of the design model.

4.1 Internal Ritual and the Importance of Setting: Theories

When examining the town hall as a setting for ritual, it is important to understand the fundamental role played by the space, finishes and furniture as part of the process. Jacoba van Leeuwen notes that the use of portraits of coats of arms, for example, created the framework for the enactment of ritual by participants who "wished to legitimate their status and moralize[sic] their future conduct." This alignment with the dynasty of power gave its occupants a new status, within a space that carried strong historic associations and as a by-product, inferred competence in its users. Van Leeuwen continues:

"The town hall was no neutral space, but communicated values and norms that were also emphasized during the ritual transfer of power, for example the importance of impartiality and rightfulness. This building did not just function as the background of the ritual; on the contrary, this meaningful setting influenced the meaning of the actions that were staged there."⁵²

This reading suggests that even the most commonplace of events staged within the town hall was imbued with a ritual meaning through their setting. The opening and closing of Council Sessions, the swearing in of the new Provost and even Council meetings can all be considered as part of the ritual canon of the building.

Charles Goodsell posits some useful theories that can be used to read the intentions of internal spaces for ritual in his book *The Social History of Civic*

Space. In particular, he discusses how fixed and non-fixed furniture can provide unconscious signals for behaviour. The following summarises his views that are relevant to the study below:

1. *The physical distance between furniture can impact on how people react to each other. Close physical proximity leads to familiarity and intimate conversation. Separation beyond twelve feet leads to an "inauthentic "frozen" style of speaking".* This is of particular interest when considering the relative formality of interaction between Councillors, located beside each other, and between Councillors and members of the public, often located some distance away.
2. *Differences in elevation create sight-line angles that produce status differentials.* As is discussed below, the latter half of the twentieth century saw a design propensity for locating the public at a height away from the politicians. While height is often seen as an indication of higher status, in the case of such public galleries, the impression is more of isolation than of superiority.
3. *Kevin Lynch's imaging elements of node, landmark and edge can be interpreted to refer to physical barriers in the space.* These can include railings, platform edges and the front skirts of desks, such as are found at Dundee and Kirkcaldy Chambers. Such features impede the interaction of different groups, presenting a 'closed' aspect that does not encourage discourse.⁵³

Goodsell's analysis suggests that close attention should be paid to the furniture and layout of Chambers, to uncover the meanings behind these ritual spaces. While neither Burntisland nor Renfrew Town Halls retain their original furniture or records thereof, Dundee City Chambers and Kirkcaldy Town House have well-documented information about the development of theirs, which provides a means for investigation.

4.2 Internal Ritual: Dundee City Chambers and Kirkcaldy Town House

Dundee City Chambers provides an example in microcosm of this process of increasing restriction of public inclusion in political ritual. By examining the Council Chambers in particular, the change in the will to engage meaningfully is evident.

For a short period of time in the early years of the twentieth century, Dundee had three Chambers in each of the 1732 Town House, the 1911 Caird Hall and

the 1932 City Chambers. The Town House's Chambers, situated on the first floor of the building, was little more than a large rectangular room. It was lavishly furnished with gilded mirrors, chandeliers, stained glass and heavy mahogany furniture, as shown in the images below:



Figures 10&11: The interior of Dundee Town House Council Chamber, taken before demolition.

Source: SCRAN: SCRAN ID: 000-000-459-797-C & 000-000-459-798-C.

The relative informality of the Town House Chambers is notable. Instead of a separate and higher dais, the Provost's Chair was positioned at the same table with all participants sharing in the political ritual, whether Councillors or Officers. Similarly, the use of loose chairs generously spaced around the table, rather than fixed benches or seats which would restrict movement, shows that a liberality of expression was anticipated as part of the political ritual. Seating for observers was available on well-upholstered chairs of similar status to those occupied by Councillors. These were placed in close proximity to the Councillors' table, with no barriers in front of them – again a ritually-simple arrangement that indicated the unrestricted participation of observers of a status to gain entry to the Chambers.



Figure 12: Interior of the Caird Hall Council Chamber.

Source: Souvenir of the Opening of Caird Hall, 1923, Collection of Dundee City Archive.

The Caird Council Chamber is shown to the left. This Chamber, which was constructed as part of the Caird Hall, shows the development of the design type since the eighteenth century.

The space was much larger and more clearly identifiable with a ritual usage, which is indicated by the formal delineation of spatial sections through decorative elements such as pilasters, and the use of furniture designed specifically for ritual. Instead of the dining table associations of the shared table used in the Town House, the Caird Hall Council Chamber employed a purpose-built continuous u-shaped desk - with panelling along its inner face - for use by the Councillors. This faced a separate top table where the Provost and Magistrates would have sat, in a more formal and confrontational arrangement than had been considered appropriate in the 1732 Town House. Seating for observers was more limited than in the Town House, and was tied to a specific location at the base of the pilasters. The seats were of a simpler design than those used for Councillors, indicating a lower status, in addition to an implied restriction of movement from the existing positioning of the chairs. In contrast to the Town House, the Caird Hall Chamber was considerably more formalised and constrained.

Dundee's third Chamber was the largest of all three, and equal in grandeur to that of the Caird Hall. The City Chambers' Chamber was finished with extensive decorative plaster, mahogany wall panelling and new custom furniture. The chandeliers from the Town House were also installed. It shows the same preoccupations with establishing a highly formal space for ritual exhibited in its predecessor completed only a decade before, using classically-informed decorative motifs to inspire associations with established high value heavily-decorated spaces, such as banks and churches.



Figures 13 & 14: Dundee City Chambers' Council Chamber, looking south and north. Note the public viewing gallery visible behind the large wall-mounted town crest in the second image.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, November 18, 2014.

Unlike its two predecessors, the 1932 Chambers did not allow public access to the Chambers itself. Instead, the public were located in an enclosed viewing gallery above the floor level of the Chambers, effectively looking down at the politicians.

The enclosure of the public gallery to a space beyond the Chambers proper added to the ritual formality of the space, by compartmentalising those likely to be least well-informed on the rituals necessary for behaving in the Chambers, and sanitising the Chambers for performances by only those with a political and administrative mandate. Those within the gallery are no longer participants in ritual.



Figure 15: Provost's Chair at Dundee Council Chamber.

Source: Author's photograph, site survey, November 18, 2014.

The Councillors' chairs are not fixed in position. Instead they are tightly packed into their tables, making movement difficult and thus restricting the possibility for individual expression. Unusually, the Provost's Chair is on castors set into rails, allowing only back and forth movement on its raised dais. The

Chair itself, dating to 1832, was imported from the Town House, and the awkwardness of this solution suggests it was a late addition to the scheme. The

heightened restriction of movement of the Provost adds to the highly formal quality of the space and thus its appropriateness for the performance of ritual.

Taken together, Dundee's three Chambers demonstrate the gradual increase in the formality and exclusion expected of the Council's primary ritual space, from the relatively relaxed format exhibited in the eighteenth century Town House, through the more constrained version in the Caird Hall to the tightly controlled Chamber found in the City Chambers, where there was a stricter separation between the public and the politicians than had been viewed as necessary before.

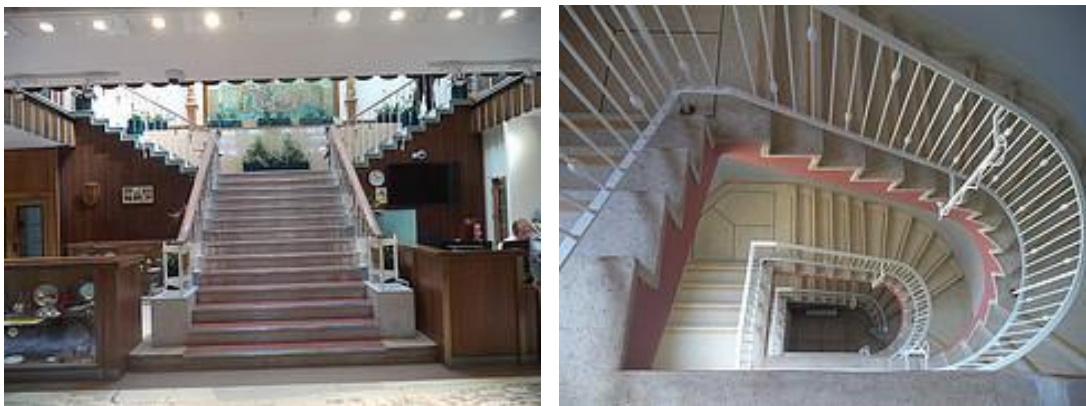
The discussions over the need for three City Chambers within the same local authority reveal much of their attitude to the role of ritual spaces in defining political authority. James Caird's stated rationale for providing the Caird Hall was that he was "convinced that Dundee, in respect of municipal chambers . . . was very meanly equipped, and he had determined to provide these most necessary adjuncts of a modern city."⁵⁴

His view was agreed with within the Council, who readily fell in with Caird's requirements for land and ongoing financial support. The Town House Chambers no longer fitted Dundee's self-image: the relative simplicity of design did not fit with Caird's vision, which was of a grander, more impressive and ultimately more restrictive ritual space for the performance of local government.

It is surprising, therefore, in light of the grandeur of his gesture and the resulting impressive Council Chamber, that another new chamber should have been conceived of as part of the 1930s scheme. However, the same rationale was expressed as in 1911: at a meeting in February 1930, Cllr. Buist described the current chamber as "not worthy of the city of Dundee" and added that "if there was a possibility of the Town Council being extended, then there was no possibility of carrying on their work in the present Chamber".⁵⁵ Once again, the chamber was found not to be of a standard suitable for the performance of modern politics and its associated ritual. Although the probity of this was questioned by some, ultimately the third City Chambers was constructed.⁵⁶ The provision of an up-to-date chamber was central to demonstrating that the Council was current in their performance of political ritual, with a space that reflected the contemporary concerns with spatial formality and public/political separation.

Very similar in design to Dundee's chamber – which was completed only four years before – Kirkcaldy also sought to raise and separate its public from the chamber floor. Unlike Dundee however, this separation was carried into the rest of the design.

The Councillor's access to the Council Chamber is either from the central staircase – a grand dog-legged, marble-lined top-lit arrangement spanning the entire height of the building – or from corridors along its length at upper levels, which areas have been lined with rich walnut and bleached mahogany, marking them out as the grandest areas of the building.



Figures 16&17: The central staircase, used by Councillors to access the Council Chambers, and the secondary staircase, used by members of the public to access the public viewing gallery.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, July 11, 2014.

Public access to the Council Chambers is quite different. To reach the public gallery, it is necessary to use a narrow secondary spiral staircase off the main corridor. Instead of the warm panelled wood and marble finish of the main staircase, there is a hard terrazzo floor and a pastel colour scheme which serves to contrast strongly with the Councillors' means of access. The public gallery is narrow and cramped, and one has the sense that it is very warm in summer time.

The ritual hierarchy was carried through to the furnishings. For the Council Chambers, a new suite of blue leather chairs was commissioned for the magistrates to sit in; specially designed by the architects for the space and of a strikingly modern design, although clearly taking inspiration from older versions

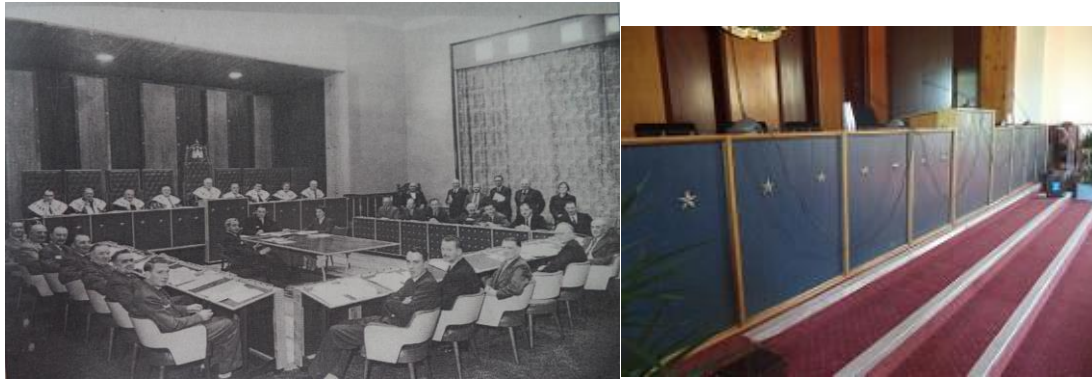
of Council Chambers furniture with their high backs, leather buttoning, and carved wood work.



Figures 18&19: Original Provost's Chair (18) and Magistrates' Chairs (19). The chairs have recently (2013) been re-upholstered to the original design as part of the Town House's refurbishment programme. They are no longer used in the Chamber as their weight and dimensions make them difficult to move around for the different functions the Chamber now hosts.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, July 11, 2014.

In the case of the Provost's chair, just as in the nineteenth century, the Coat of Arms (albeit simplified) was embossed in gold on the chair's head. While the Councillors' chairs were not custom-built, the Members' Desks which they sat at were again designed by the Architect. These were faced with buttoned and padded blue leather square sections. Most of these no longer exist, but a photograph remains of the original arrangement, taken on the day of the first meeting of the Council on November 12, 1956, shown below. Some of the remaining desks with their buttoned front sections are shown in the image to the right.

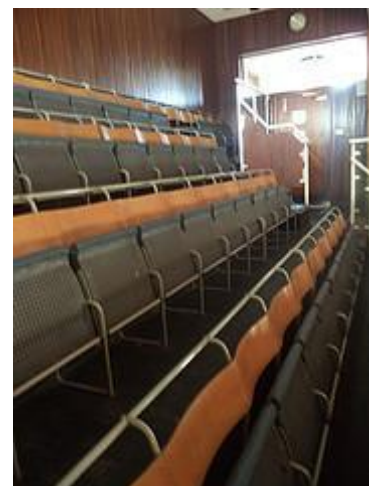


Figures 20&21: The first Council Meeting held in Kirkcaldy Town House' newly-completed Council Chambers (left), and the remaining original desks (right).

Source: Duncan Glen, *Kirkcaldy: A New Illustrated History*, Akros Publications, May 3, 2004, 210, and author's photograph, site survey, July 11, 2014.

Designed in this way, the Members' Desks form an impenetrable barrier between those outside the Council and those engaged in its work. Heavy tweed curtains emblazoned with hand-embroidered versions of the common and alternate versions of the crest, completed the sense of enclosure and exclusion.

By contrast, the public gallery, positioned outside the square of the Council space and high above it, is filled with plastic tip-up chairs, providing uncomfortable seating for long sessions and imbued with a sense of the temporary because of the non-fixed nature of the seat. There is no provision for independent movement: instead the steep tiers give the impression of inexpensive seats at a theatrical performance, with a resulting sense of inferiority to those with better seats. The superiority of those engaged with the political function is clear, as is the lack of potential agency of those in the spectator seats.



Figures 22&23: The public gallery at Kirkcaldy Town House. Note the cramped conditions, uncomfortable seating and the clear exclusion of the public from the Council Chamber proper.

Source: Author's photographs, site survey, July 11, 2014.

The Council Chamber was clearly designed as a very formal setting for ritual, using the expensive materials and rich colours made popular in such schemes in the nineteenth century. It used these materials, along with the spatial form, to make clear the separation between those who were there to perform the ritual and those who were there to observe it, heightening the awareness of who held political control within Kirkcaldy.

Whereas in the case of Burntisland and Renfrew Town Halls, a restricted form of access had been assumed, in that only those of a distinct social class would seek to enter the Chamber, in these later buildings, a physical as opposed to a cultural barrier to access was deemed necessary. Dundee City Chambers and Kirkcaldy Town Houses exhibit the gradual seclusion of the public from the political process in the early and middle years of the twentieth century. The architecture of town halls and its fittings was used as a means of creating a restrictive formality in the ritual space that limited the ability of those not directly engaged in the process to engage in it meaningfully, as had been the case before.

4.3 External Ritual and Borrowed Architecture

Like Burntisland and Renfrew Town Halls, twentieth century town halls anticipated that large civic ceremonies would be held outside the building. Instead of involving the town as part of the ritual process however, Dundee, Kirkcaldy and Paisley provided a specific external square for civic events as the dedicated venue for civic ritual, facilitating more static events that were closely controlled by the surveillance of the town hall.

Town Squares have always been a focus for the culmination of civic ritual. As well as sites of demonstration in times of political unrest, in Scotland they host two ritual performances of civic gathering that are particularly important to local identity: the Common Riding and Hogmanay celebrations. In the case of the former, which is common but not ubiquitous throughout Scotland, the boundaries of the town are encircled at dawn once a year by a team of locals bearing flags on horseback, before completing their ride in the Town Square. At Selkirk the entire town is assembled in the Square, where the burgh flag is

returned to the town's Provost by an annually-elected standard bearer, who reports that he is returning it "unsullied and untarnished". The burgh flag and those of the town's historic guilds are then waved in figure of eights to music, after which a day of celebration and festivity begins.⁵⁷ In most towns in Scotland at New Year's Eve, it is typical to travel through the town from private houses or local public houses to the Town Square to celebrate the turning of the New Year: "In Kirriemuir we go to the Square, that's where you would be at midnight when the bell rang on the town hall clock".⁵⁸ The Town Square played an important role in shaping identity through creating a focus for urban civic ritual, and by creating such a space as part of the construction of a town hall, a Council could appropriate that function for operation under their own auspices.

This is particularly clear at the 1932 Dundee City Chambers, where the wide open thoroughfare to the front of the 1732 Town House was exchanged for the enclosed space of the early twentieth century Town Square. Ritual involving the wider public was not included for within the spatial planning of the interior of Dundee City Chambers. The narrow corridors and limited congregational spaces of Dundee City Chamber make it clear that mass access to the political space was never envisaged. Instead, the Council focussed its attentions on making the Square outside the Chambers a place for public meeting. It moved the location of the new Council Chamber away from its originally-planned location - overlooking the High Street - to the centre of the West Wing, its pillared balcony providing a focus for the Square in addition to the Caird Hall.⁵⁹ The Council also agreed the creation of an entrance to the balcony from the Council Chamber, allowing direct transition from the main political space to the Square below: a traditional arrangement seen from the earliest town houses through to Paisley Civic Centre in 1973.⁶⁰



The doorway leading to the public balcony is given prominent detailing in the Council Chamber, as shown to the left.

Figure 24: The Balcony doorway in Dundee Council Chamber.

Source: Author's photograph, site survey, November 17, 2014.

Located centrally in the east wall and projecting into the space of the Chamber, it is clear that this feature has an important ritual function for the Council, providing a symbolic immediacy of communication with the citizens, as well as a reminder of whom the Councillors were there to serve. Given its prominence and the deliberate isolation of the public gallery within the Chamber, there is an uneasy balance between the desire for communication with the public as evidenced by the balcony, and the wish to constrain their involvement in the political process by designing the public gallery outside the Chamber proper. Both the City Square communicated to by the balcony and the gallery in the Chamber are essentially passive however: in neither location were lay participants empowered to influence the political process.

The creation of the Square following the completion of the City Chambers in 1933 was of great importance to the Council in achieving their vision for the new Chambers. The maps below show the footprint of buildings in the Chambers location before and after demolition.



Figures 25 & 26: Dundee Town House and environs in the late nineteenth century, and the same area in 1938.

Source: Town Plan Map Series: Dundee 1870 - LIV.9.5, and Fife and Kinross Sheet I.SW, revised: 1938, Collection of National Library of Scotland.

As can be seen from Figure 25 - to the left above - the site was host to a large additional administrative building that supported the function of the Town House, known as the Annexe, as well as a church and other buildings of medieval origin, which were known collectively as the Vault. The effect of their demolition not only demonstrated the ambition of the Council to create a large new space for public ritual, but also the extent of their control over the city itself. Any ritual held in the City Square thereafter would resonate with the power of the Council to create such a space, penned on three sides by the architecture of the City Chambers and the Caird Hall.

After the decision to demolish the Town House, the functioning and subsequent design of the Square itself was the most discussed topic of design dealt with in relation to the City Chambers development in 1932. In the words of Convenor Phin, "the appearance of the square was the most important architectural feature in Dundee".⁶¹ It was also the only manifestation of City Engineer James Thomson's schemes for the redevelopment of Dundee along Beaux Arts lines, and this only by association: his vision for a wide open City Square with municipal buildings was planned for an entirely new site by the river Tay, as shown below.



Figure 27:
Thomson's
scheme for a new
City Chambers,
circa 1910-11.

Source: Collection
of Dundee City
Archive.

The City Square was to be a sanitised, tightly controlled space: the Councillors agreed that no licensed premises would be allowed to open on the Square, and initially preferred not to even allow retailers in such close proximity to the Caird Hall, although this policy was soon altered as discussed in Chapter 2.⁶² The Council paid for a cornice detail to be installed along the lengths of both the East

and West Wings, even paying for a sample to be installed in the first instance so that its effect could be judged.⁶³ The extension of the cornice in 1933 to include the commercial element of the City Chambers development, at the expense of £800 to the Council, drew some public remonstrance in the media, to which it was responded that the cornice allowed the Square to be "really completed and this was the time to do it. It was a very small figure compared to the total cost of the building to make the amenity of the central City Square right."⁶⁴ At a later meeting, the effect of not having the cornice was described as inconceivable for the scheme: "the City Square would be like a dog without ears".⁶⁵ The cornice was designed to match that already built on the Caird Hall, creating, in effect, a high level cordon that delineated the area of municipal authority. The Council considered its completion indispensable to finishing the Square appropriately. In their desire for a continuous finish across the buildings of the Square was an awareness that the space was to be an "amenity", used for civic purposes, and, it follows, ritual. The cornice would complete the space, but would also, consciously or unconsciously, heighten the sense of local government control over its operation.

As well as using a new architecture to redefine public engagement with local government, the Council appropriated the symbolism of the previous Town House to give their new City Square added resonance. A truncated version of the arched piers that formed the frontage of the Town House, called the Pillars, was recreated on the West Wing: a not entirely happy marriage of styles to create an allusion to what had gone before. In attempting to borrow its legitimacy for the new City Chambers, the insertion of the pastiche Pillars appears as a mean apology: five arched bays where the original had seven, no defining verticality because of the lack of a spire, and perhaps most crucially for Dundonians, turned away at right angles to the High Street. Instead of being the defining feature of the city's main thoroughfare, directly engaging those who walked under its arches as an inescapable part of the streetscape, the new Pillars was cut off from the day to day traffic of those who were not actively engaged with politics, and was thus stripped of its significance as part of the everyday experience of Dundee. From the Councillors' perspective, however, the message was clear. All of the prestige of old Dundee and the power of the current Council to control its destiny was represented by the replication of the Pillars, transposed as a dead frontispiece to the Council's new zone for controlled urban ritual.

The Councillors were united in their will to create a controlled, sanitised space for municipal ritual, in a bespoke environment designed to be read as a united statement of power. Ritual pronouncements – such as election results, welcomes to royal visitors and openings to Christmas and Hogmanay events – were pronounced from the Provost's Balcony to those below in the Council-controlled space, surrounded by Council offices and public entertainment spaces, all of which conformed to a unified design template, and will have been very effective in asserting the Council's power.

For Dundee City Council, the City Chambers provided an opportunity to redefine the key ritual spaces associated with local government. Graduating from the more democratic and open access arrangements of the previous Chambers, the public were now enclosed on high, in a viewing balcony above the Chambers, or far below in the sanitised enclosure of the City Square, where the reminder of the Council's will in the form of the Pillars pastiche had pride of place. Both locations allowed only for their passive involvement.

Similar to Dundee City Council, Kirkcaldy Town House's designers were preoccupied with the provision of an external space suitable for providing an environment for the expression of civic ritual. The design of 1937 exhibited a development from that at Dundee however, with a greater emphasis on ensuring the continuation of the design plan and aesthetic from the interior to the exterior, suggesting an intended parity in importance between the elements for the political function inside and social function outside in the use of the grounds of the Town House.

The original plan form, shown in *The Builder* in October 1937, reflects the same concerns with creating a sense of grandeur as expressed by Victorian precedents, with a grand apsidal ante-chamber at ground floor level forming part of a very large entrance hall.⁶⁶ This plan form mirrored the proposed layout of the formal garden behind the town hall, creating a unity of internal and external expression.

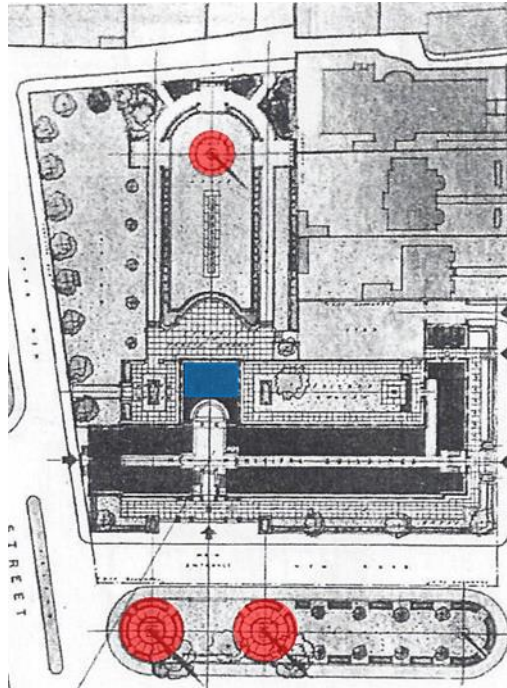


Figure 28: The competition plan produced for Kirkcaldy Town House shows the interior layout of the entrance hall, shown to the left end of the building, mirroring that of the gardens behind. The red circles mark the location of the flagpoles, on axis with the Council Chamber, shown in blue.

Source: "Competition for Municipal Buildings, Kirkcaldy: Winning Design", *The Builder*, October 29 (1937), 787.

The competition instructions placed some importance on the garden layout, requiring entrants to provide a landscaping scheme as part of their design for the project. Although this later became a standard feature of town halls, by the 1930s this was not yet a common requirement in such briefs, and we have seen how both Renfrew and Burntisland Town Halls did not consider a substantial formal external setting necessary for the expression of this control.

The winning architects Carr & Howard interpreted the Brief to intend that the garden should follow the shapes laid out by the building form, and thus become an outdoor extension of the Town House. The grounds to the front and rear highlighted the most important part of the building by aligning the gardens along the axis of the Council Chambers, with a flagpole in each of the east and west

gardens on opposite sides of the axis line, highlighted in red above.

This plan created an extended ritual means of approach to both the main entrance and the Council Chambers behind it through this alignment, heightened through the strict formality of the layout.

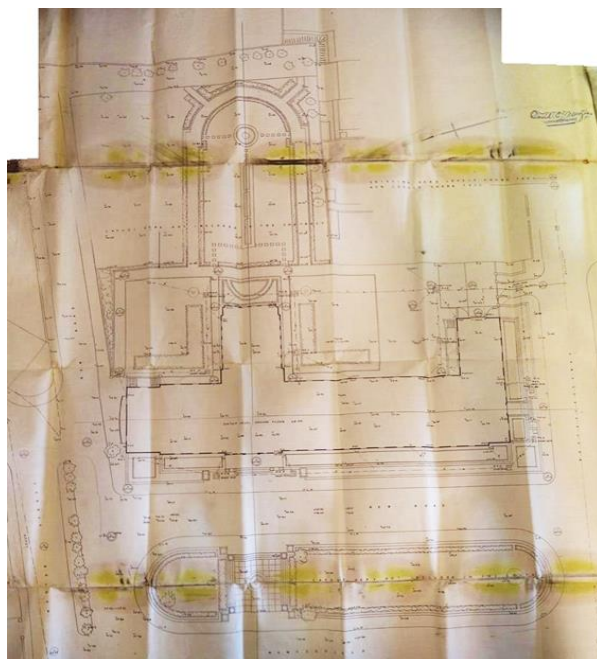


Figure 29: Original plan for the garden layout at Kirkcaldy Town House, as submitted to Kirkcaldy Burgh Council. The Town House

block outline is shown at the centre of the plan.

Source: Fife Archives Collection.

Figure 30: The Queen's visit to Kirkcaldy Town House, July 1958.

Source: Bruce Durie, *Britain in Old Photographs: Kirkcaldy and East Fife*, Sutton



Publications (2004), 67.

The Square to the front of the building created an opportunity for the appearance of politically-relevant civic ritual without meaningful engagement. Even before final completion of the building, the Square was being appropriated for ceremonial displays entirely unconnected with the functioning of the Town House. Uses included gymnastic display, open-air dancing by the Kirkcaldy and District Youth Pageant Committee, Yeomanry Band performances, carol services, Highland dancing, May Day celebrations and the Queen's visit, as shown above in Figure 30.⁶⁷ This allowed the Town House to become the backdrop of administrative and social life in the town, creating an illusion for these positive enactments of civic life without providing an equivalent means of civic involvement in politics in the interior, other than as a constrained spectator as discussed above.

Paisley Civic Centre developed the primacy of the design of external area for ritual purposes still further. The creation of a visual link to Paisley Abbey to form the central civic concourse between the buildings forced the emphasis for public ritual on the site to this key external area and the adjacent Town Square. This formal corridor was balanced by the relaxed quality of the design for the rest of the grounds, which were conceived of as a parkland setting for the Civic Centre. Taken together, the external elements kept public interest to the outside of the

civic centre buildings, projecting a range of messages around the definition of local authority power, from legitimacy, to informality, to traditional local authority power.

The Civic Centre may be the first instance of a town hall being constructed as a *response* to the most important building in the town, rather than *as* the most important building in the town. The site chosen for the Civic Centre was of great significance to the town, because of its proximity to Paisley Abbey.

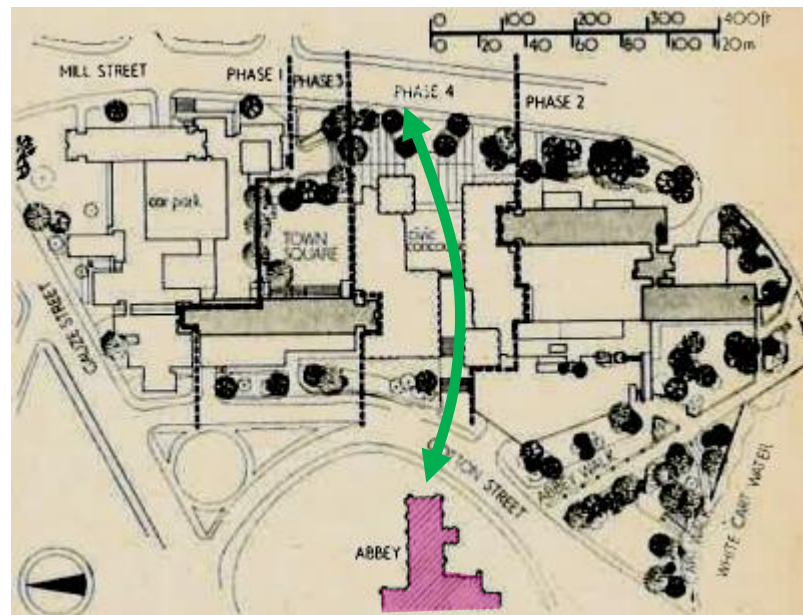


Figure 31: Civic Concourse between the Town and County Council offices, and Paisley abbey, marked in pink.

Source: Author's diagrammatic overlay on site plan reproduced in *The Architect's Journal*, November 7 (1973), 1116.

The Abbey is a largely fourteenth century structure with restoration elements dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, considered the heart of Paisley and of huge importance to the local community in terms of civic identity.

This was reflected in the brief for the Centre, details which are referred to in the reporting of the competition results in *The Architect's Journal* of January 1964.⁶⁸ The Assessor's report refers to a stipulation that "Attention should be paid to the importance of good visual relationships with the abbey [sic], although no restrictions were placed on building heights."⁶⁹ The importance of the Abbey was also acknowledged by the Secretary of State, remarking on giving approval for the planning changes necessary to allow the Civic Centre to proceed, noted that the scheme "makes possible a desirable improvement in the environment of the

Abbey".⁷⁰ The Abbey environs had already been improved in the nineteenth century by the addition of Paisley Town Hall in close proximity: together with the Civic Centre, the Abbey would become the heart of civic Paisley, much as in the nineteenth century, in places such as Aberdeen and Dumfries, the town hall was constructed in close proximity to buildings such as the Sheriff Court, Museum, and Art Gallery in order to create an extended civic quarter.

The winning design showed its awareness of this local concern through the use of the Abbey as the focal point for civic ritual. The architects created a central shared walkway between the Town and County Council offices along the axis between the Abbey and the Thread Street Church, later demolished to facilitate the scheme. This is shown in Figure 31 above. The design kept the rooflines of the building below the Abbey's eaves line and positioned the Council Chambers for each facility on either side of the axial line, structuring a dialogue between the three structures that "respected and enhanced this unique focal building", in the words of Anthony Monk; one of the Civic Centre architects.⁷¹

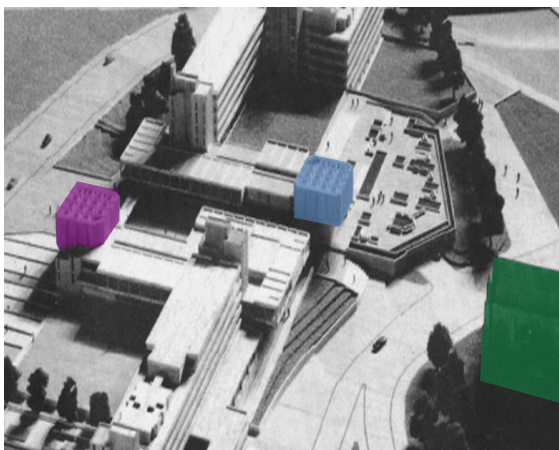


Figure 32: close-up of the competition model, showing the relationship between the west elevation of the Abbey, shown in green to the right of the image, and the central concourse, with Paisley Town Council's proposed Council Chamber in purple, and Renfrewshire County Council's Chamber in blue. The Town Square is shown to the left foreground.

Source: *Building*, "New Building supplement", January 9 (1970), frontispiece.



Figure 33: View towards the Abbey, coloured green, from the intended civic concourse when construction was halted: the County Council dining hall is visible to the left, and the Town Council offices are to the right background.

Source: *Architects' Journal*, November 7 (1973), 1121.

The Chambers were raised well above ground level, so that they were at a similar height to that of the Abbey's east window, creating an equality with Paisley's ancient leaders who had built the Abbey. The management of this relationship was a key one for the assessors, who commented that the winning design "shows a masterly control of the siting and relationship of buildings to create an appropriate grandeur of urban space."⁷² The winning entry not only acknowledged the importance of the Abbey through its respectful building heights, but also created a spatial relationship on both vertical and horizontal planes to place the Abbey and the two Authorities on equal footing, linking with and expanding the reach of the Abbey's historic positive associations for the local community.

The sense of the Abbey's importance had a profound effect on the judging of the submissions for the scheme. The Assessors' report on the six shortlisted designs dwelt on how the relationship between it and the civic centre buildings was handled, and the focus given to this part of the brief may have been the deciding factor in the victory of Hutchison Locke and Monk. Their report noted

"The author has fully appreciated the unifying force of the abbey in resolving the dilemma of a dual group of buildings (county and town) each with its own competing climax in the form of a council chamber . . . There is no doubt at all that the design will not only serve with dignity the central functions of burgh and county, but will also produce a worthy and entirely sympathetic setting for the Abbey, greatly enhancing the view of it from many points."⁷³

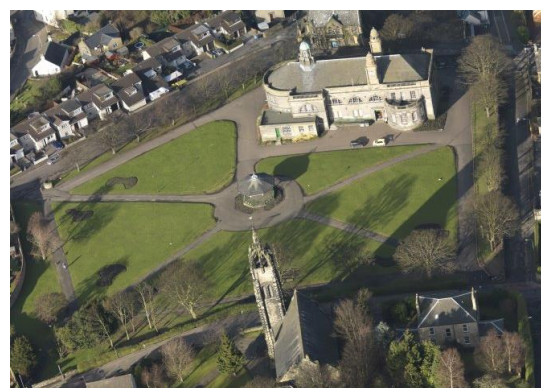
The architects were under no illusions that their buildings were to have a greater stature than the Abbey: "the Abbey was the most important building in the vicinity, more important than Paisley or Renfrewshire's buildings".⁷⁴ The partner in charge, David Hutchison, underlined this in his Architects' Report as part of the winning submission, and described how the entire plan developed from the core concept of responding to the Abbey:

"The influence of the abbey on the site is such that the focus must be related to it, and therefore the council suite complex has been grouped on the axis of the abbey . . . thus amplifying the focal effect. Having formed this point of focus . . . we have determined all other aspects to lead people to it. The relationship of the office blocks for both councils is

determined by the circulation to the council suites and thus the positioning of these determines the form that the focus will take.”⁷⁵

The civic concourse was clearly intended as the focus of the design, and yet because of its deference to the Abbey, it functions more as a passageway than as a place redolent of the dignity of civic ritual. The almost domestic scale of the buildings on either side of the concourse, which are three storey to accommodate the double height of the Council Chambers, is coupled with a deliberately narrow pedestrian walkway at ground level. These features impart a sense of intimacy and a lack of formality which fits with the overall feel of the site, of which more below. The small scale of the concourse has another effect, however: it creates the impression of a through way, rather than a destination, and the axial planning that places the Abbey as the point of focus draws the attention towards it, rather than to the two most important buildings within the Civic Centre site. These are placed off axis and fully articulated on two sides only, without direct access from the Concourse. As one of the architects put it, “they [the Assessors] didn’t want a damn great imposing Victorian frontage.”⁷⁶

This means they did not enjoy the physical status build-up previously associated with the centre of power: examples of this are the articulation in the round as at Lanark County Buildings, steep flights of external entrance steps as at Inverness Town Hall, or substantial hard or soft landscaping in front of the entrance, as at Glasgow City Chambers. At Bo’ness Town Hall by George Washington Browne in 1901, a similar parkland setting is created for the building, and yet the formality of approach is maintained, as can be seen from the images below:



Figures 34 and 35: Front elevation and parkland setting of Bo’ness Town Hall and Library.

Source: Scotland’s Places: Canmore ID: 48145, images references 105158 and 75435.

By placing the Town Hall's front elevation as the end point along a straight processional route, visible from all entry points into the park, the visitor is in no doubt of their ultimate destination. The parkland setting enhances, rather than detracts from this formality.

At Paisley Civic Centre however, the chambers are intended as sculptural blocks that form points of interest along a pedestrian route, and as a result, do not function to the same degree as destinations of power as has been noted in Section 3 in relation to Burntisland and Renfrew, for example. While the site, as a whole, enjoys the close association with the Abbey's history, it does not own that legitimacy independently of its neighbour.

In general, the site shows a moving away from embracing civic ritual and the formality it had come to entail as a fundamental aspect of town hall provision. Instead, there was a desire to provide a civic space that was deliberately devoid of ritual associations outside of the civic concourse. According to the Project Architects, it was one of the guiding concepts for the site overall: "it was a big enough site to allow there to be public spaces, to allow it to be a relaxed design . . . The concept was somewhat informal." In the view of the architects, "the footpaths [were] more important to the town than the actual buildings themselves"- they were creating a "public civic domain".⁷⁷ The formality associated with civic ritual has no place within the majority of the site area, which was given a high status through the quality of design and finishing. The only areas that would invite such activity were the civic concourse and the Town Square, shown in the image of the Civic Centre model below.

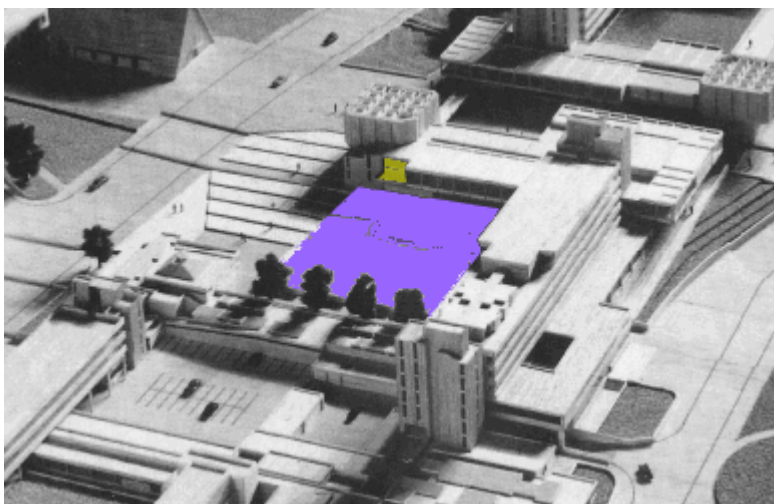


Figure 36: Paisley Town Square, view taken from competition model. The town square is coloured purple and the provost's balcony is in yellow.

Source: Author's overlay on image

taken from the *Architects' Journal*, January 8 (1964), 86.

The Square was tucked away behind the Paisley Town Council building and enclosed on three sides. It was designed to be approached off-axis and from shallow steps which mean that it would not be fully revealed until access level was reached. There is no grand processional lead in to it and it is doubtful if there was great awareness of its existence within the town: certainly there is no evidence from local newspapers that events were held there. The provost's balcony, a notably traditional inclusion that was not detailed in the brief but included on the whim of the lead architect overlooks the Town Square from a first floor open space that is tucked into the corner beside the Chambers block - not given the precedence of a central location or a greater elevation.⁷⁸ Again, the traditional architectural methods of supporting ritual function are absent from the design.

Public access to the site from all approaches meant there were no private areas within the scheme, again a new development for civic centres: Lanark County Buildings, completed just ten years before, had a very clear definition of public and private space, and indeed the five other Competition finalists for Paisley Civic Centre maintained some articulation in this respect. Hutchison, Lock and Monk were following the contemporary theme of public participation as far as possible: "Public participation was a phrase that was used for all sorts of things within planning and general activity - we were encouraged to bring the people up to the buildings."⁷⁹ Unlike other competition entrants, they paid great attention to the external areas in their competition model, as had Carr and Howard at Kirkcaldy. Their focus did not go unnoticed. The assessors commented: "people will be able to move with great enjoyment. . . The rewarding thing about this project is that these and many other subtleties of design, [show] acute awareness of human response to space and movement."⁸⁰ The Civic Centre buildings were designed to be accessible from all elevations, taking advantage of the island nature of the site to create approaches from four sides, as well as a walkway that circled the site in its entirety. The civic domain was clearly defined and given significance by the extensive use of high quality granite setts - very commonly used in Paisley for hard landscaping - for embankments, raised flower beds and edging, and small-scale sculptural incidents in concrete were incorporated to give a lively and welcoming external area. The enjoyment of the people within a civic environment was now important, rather than the creation of a sense of awe and respect.



Figure 37:

Contemporaneous image of the Renfrewshire County Council offices from the Civic Concourse, showing the integration of granite setts within the scheme.

Source: Image ref: D3941, Paisley Heritage Library collection.

Paisley Civic Centre was designed as a place of transition, with the actual destination, in the form of the Abbey, located off-site. The Civic Centre defers to the architecture of the older building, recognising its superior significance in the locality, instead of making an independent statement, as its predecessors chose to. Unfortunately, in doing so, it weakened the contextual significance of the building whose significance it was intending to protect and borrow for itself.

The informality of the rest of the site, with the exception of the Square, points to the change in attitudes towards ritual over the course of the proceeding 130 years of local government. The foundation stone laying ceremony at Paisley, for example, extended to nothing more than a photocall for the local newspapers with the Provost – no grand procession was ever considered. It was no longer necessary or desirable to impress the populace or engage them in community building and defining rituals. A more relaxed, less insistent form of engagement was now appropriate: one that did not force a confrontation between politics and people.

5 Conclusions

Ritual and town halls have always been considered intertwined, fundamental to the common image of the town hall. What has not been so clearly understood has been the relationship between external ritual and the surrounding built environment, and how dependent the success of civic ritual has been in appropriating the correct physical symbols for its political message to be understood within the desired context.

The existing architecture of the town can be used to provide the moral character of the Council, as at Burntisland, or to redraw the area of urban inclusion to encompass the town hall, in a new conception of what the town is, as at Renfrew. At Dundee, the City Chambers and Caird Hall created a sanitised, tightly-controlled City Square, within which a much-diminished town house was used as an appropriated centrepiece for civic ritual. At Paisley, the Abbey gave formality and presence to the ritual core of the site that was otherwise distinctly pedestrian in scale. None of these buildings would have been able to define their control of the locality without linking to the surrounding architecture to provide context and appropriate meanings for the town hall, which were made manifest through the process of civic ritual.

The nature and extent of external ritual associated with the town hall changed markedly from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. At the beginning of the period, the involvement of the townspeople as part of the collective and dynamic rite was seen as essential to the acceptance of the town hall, and by extension, of those who operated politically from it. By participating in such ceremonies, the citizens were giving their tacit consent for a new or enlarged form of local government control, framed by the associations with the town's institutions through the dynamic mapping of the marching process.

The gradual rise of the more controlled approach to ritual interaction with the public seen in relation to rituals regarding the outside of the building is mirrored in the interior. Early manifestation of Council Chambers such as those at Burntisland, Renfrew and Dundee can be read as encouraging the interaction from the lay observer of political ritual. Cues such as the unstructured nature of layout and the equal status of furniture for Councillor and observer indicate that the right of interaction of the citizen was taken for granted.

Later town halls sought to restrict this level of engagement with the political process by controlling the location of public seating, or by corralling the citizens into a purpose-built public gallery, outside the Chambers proper. This reduced their ability to engage to observation only, underlined by the evident inferiority of their seating in comparison with that for Councillors.

By the late twentieth century, it was no longer necessary to seek public sanction for local government. Its position and role were understood and accepted by all, to the extent that Council felt able to manifest their control by the restriction of public ritual without fear of reprisal. The status of local authority was assured,

and the role of the town hall as a solution to uncertainty was no longer its primary function.

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- ⁶⁸ Editorial, "Paisley Civic Centre", *The Architects' Journal* (1964), 83-91.
- ⁶⁹ Editorial, "Paisley Civic Centre", 85.
- ⁷⁰ "Paisley Civic Scheme Approved", editorial, *The Glasgow Herald*, Sep 2, 1963.
- ⁷¹ Anthony Monk, "Paisley Civic Centre Competition 1963 revisited", unpublished article for Docomomo, 3.
- ⁷² Editorial, "Paisley Civic Centre", 86.
- ⁷³ Editorial, "Winning Design", *The Architect and Building News*, Jan 15, (1964), 87.
- ⁷⁴ Anthony Monk, interview with the author, Nov 15 2013, London
- ⁷⁵ Editorial, "Winning Design", *The Architect and Building News*, Jan 15, (1964), 90.
- ⁷⁶ Monk, interview.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

This research has sought to address the question of the role of town halls for urban society, and in particular, how they resolved the position of uncertainty of the local authority at the time of construction. This has been achieved by examining six case studies across the 140 years of the period under investigation. These were selected because of the wealth of information available on them, as well as their geographical and temporal spread. Having compared the conclusions drawn from examining the buildings against broader political and social surveys of the period, it is clear that they accurately reflect national trends, proving their worth as relevant sources of information for exploring the central thesis question.

When modern town halls were constructed for the first time in Scotland in the 1840s, the function of their occupants was to fulfil the brief of managing the development of the town, in terms of both its industrial and physical change. Sometimes, the role of the Councillors also included facilitating the creation of urban society and managing the treatment of the poor of the town. In all of these roles, the local authority was largely left to its own volition to decide the nature of the service provision, lending such enterprises a particularly local flavour. The early town halls that resulted from this position reflected a spirit of change, in their design taking little from previous administrations in favour of celebrating contemporaneous achievements. The statement of civic pride made by them was centered around cementing and lauding contemporaneous achievements that demonstrated the strength and power of the current administration.

This link with the present continued into the town halls produced in the Victorian era, when town halls grew exponentially bigger in line with their increasing administrative requirements. However, this was tempered by the lavish foundation stone laying and opening rituals that were a feature of the latter half of the nineteenth century. These claimed legitimacy for the town hall through tying the new building to past glories of the town, and through their processions, knitting it into the fabric of the urban network.

The tension between the equal celebration of the contemporary and the past did not seem cause concern in the same way that it did in the twentieth century inter-war period, when the treatment of local history, including buildings and events, began to assume a more decorative and less active role in defining the town. Local authorities were more confident in their position within politics and national administration, and could afford to rely less on their ties with their locality to express this in the town halls constructed. Their strength was no longer in providing an expression of urban

individuality, but in demonstrating the extent of their control through the sheer numbers of clerks working on their behalf to administer the town. Accordingly, the administrative elements of schemes began to be more obviously expressed in the design of town halls.

This expression was viewed as legitimate for the middle years of the twentieth century, but began to change in the late nineteen sixties and seventies, when increasing regionalisation led to a questioning of the connection between the large corps of Council Officers and the town or region they were employed to serve. Councillors began to disassociate themselves from their administrators through the separate articulation of the council chambers within town hall schemes, while simultaneously relying on their expertise more and more in the decision-making process. This disconnect between the politicians and the administrators was also a reflection of the increasing centralisation of the governance, which gradually removed the ability of towns to make meaningful decisions of their own volition. While administrative accommodation continued to be built, new town halls became extremely rare. The need for local government, once an essential ingredient to economic and social development, has decreased markedly. Alongside this, town halls have become places that are used primarily for the enactment of civic rituals and celebrations, their grand interiors now lending themselves to displays of civic pride more than the power and control of the local council.

The town hall, as a building type that was once the pride of urban communities across Britain, has become an anachronism, reflecting a period of great change at local level that has now passed. What these buildings symbolised in terms of local pride, power and decision-making no longer has the currency it once held, as communities are increasingly focussed on the role of their nation on the international stage as opposed to their town. The sense of difference that was once part of urban identity has become more of an expression of nationality, and with it, the fine grain of local culture and heritage has become diluted to mean particularities of words rather than deeds.

A richer palette of information can be drawn out from the town hall than other buildings, because of the number of different ways of examining their construction across the built, written, visual and experiential evidence. In particular, the research sheds light on the creation, celebration and decline of local government as currently understood over the period of its operation. This study has used the baseline of the construction process – development, construction, reception – to compare the relative state of relationships between the key players across the various studies. While society may have changed a great deal over the course of the period under study, the essential elements of building have not, and this study has shown how effective it can be to use this process across building from different eras as a means of investigating common themes.

By considering the context of the building's construction beyond that of simply the client-architect relationship, a much deeper understanding of contemporary urban society at the point of construction is available. The secondary material – particularly print media – that details the town hall through the lens of the observer allows an understanding of the impact of such buildings on local society and their interest groups, beyond the style-focussed commentaries of traditional publications towards a broader understanding of their functioning as civic spaces. In newspapers, the building is often placed in the context of other local concerns: at Kirkcaldy, for example, the town was concerned about post-War growth, whereas at Renfrew, the increase in central government oversight was a focus for comment. Such commentaries, with the town hall as the actual focus of the article, can also be acutely-considered pieces detailing wider political and social movements. The potential of town halls to be used for this purpose of providing a catalyst for wider debate is suggested in the introduction to *City Halls and Civic Materialism*.¹ However, none of the authors within that work developed this methodology of approach to the extent of the current research, and their work is correspondingly less fully considered. This thesis demonstrates the breadth of what can be achieved when the traditional architectural sources are not given weight over those of a more sociological interest.

Charles Goodsell's observational method for investigating the social effect of space and furnishings of City Chambers had not been tested in the United Kingdom prior to this study. The successful application of his methodology to reveal the development of spatial restriction over time in Scottish Chambers proves that his technique is ripe for broader application and can offer a route to more subjective, experiential surveying of public spaces. His approach is particularly credible for buildings of a civic nature, where the internal design is aimed at creating a dialogue with the everyman and thus its intent is heavily signposted: the universality of approach means that the subjective response of the one, in the person of the surveyor, is likely to reflect the intended response of the general public. This application of Goodsell's methodology proves how useful it can be in providing a broader interpretation of such spaces than can be read simply through reading the plans and interpreting the architecture without due consideration of the psychological impact of their arrangement and furnishings.

As noted in Chapter 1, the subject of Scottish town halls has been largely ignored until now, perhaps because of their disingenuously simple meaning as a symbol of power for local government. Where in-depth studies have been completed, their focus has been on creating a chronological narrative of one building within a local context, without looking at the broader theme of the development and decline of local government and decision-making that can be applied more widely.

This study has aimed to reposition the idea of the town hall from an interesting and distinct architectural type to the town's primary urban space, with the considerations of access and function that are manifested in that idea. To treat of the building type solely from the perspective of its architecture, I have argued, is to ignore its fundamental role in creating, sustaining and defining the notion of the civic for towns.

The functionality of the town hall as a civic space is directly related to our understanding of the building type. The words "town hall" used in the political context are synonymous with the ability of the public to interact with the building, and imply a level of equal access that comes from our sense of what the physical manifestation means.

This research suggests that such association of civic space with the town hall dates back to its earliest manifestations following the reform of suffrage and the creation of the police burghs in the 1830s. In the buildings of the nineteenth century, there is an emphasis on providing a public space that is accessible from multiple routes, which presents itself as the most important social space of the town, through internal decoration, access and functioning.

Public congregation for social purposes in the form of a Banqueting Hall played a significant role in creating the sense of a civic space, and its location was prioritised at town halls such as that at Renfrew, where it was the focal point of the building. The presence of such halls helped to mould the town hall type to a form that could be recognised nationally.

This will to enable civic access into the town hall reduced over the 140 year period considered for this research. Gradually, it came to be preferred for the location of civic social space to be exterior to the building, retaining public access to the function of political spaces only, and then in a highly-controlled way. Civic space began to be compromised to make way for the increasing need to provide administrative offices, as central government placed more and more controls on the functioning of urban society. These developments were in parallel with a will to appear more open and politically accessible than had been the case before; efforts which were thus largely disingenuous.

The performance of ritual and the construction of town halls have always been assumed to hold a close connection, and this research demonstrates that, particularly in relation to the exterior of such buildings, this association has remained strong throughout the period under study. Sometimes, the manifestation of the connection between external ritual and the town has been to involve other elements of the urban built environment in redrawing the mental map of the town to include a new building, creating positive associations with religion and the economy as part of the process. On other occasions,

the town hall has been linked physically with what is considered the key building of the town in an effort to draw its positive associations towards the new building; a linkage that is then cemented by civic ritual. Town halls thus rely on ritual and their townscape setting to establish their part in a town's narrative and to create the linkages that are vital to conferring status and moral character on the new building, and by association, on its occupiers.

Such dynamic external ritual processes of acceptance began to die out following World War II, in parallel with opportunities to participate in political ritual internally. At the beginning of the period under study, public interaction with council meetings was encouraged through an informality of setting and equality of positioning. By the end of the period however, viewing galleries were located outside the Council Chamber, in a position of passivity that discouraged interaction with the main ritual function of the town hall and created a visible manifestation of status. Even though later buildings such as Lanark County Buildings projected an image of openness and equality of access, in reality their approach to ritual engagement remained as restrictive as those town halls from the early years of the century. The inclusive nature of the earlier rituals involving external movement through the town was entirely lost by the more restrained processes of ritual invited in twentieth century buildings. This indicates a gradual increase in local authority complacency as to their role in the town and the correspondingly diminished necessity of involving the public within their processes of governance.

The primary function of the town hall as an expression of power has permeated the discussion throughout this document. The discussion of the nature of civic space is mediated through an understanding that whoever holds the power, controls the access and the functionality of the town hall. In the period when the approval of the upper classes of society was necessary to shore up the power of the town council, the building was designed to facilitate their social enjoyment as a primary concern through the provision of a suitably grand Banqueting Hall. However, as the legitimacy of town halls became less reliant on support at local level and more a function of central government, so such Halls began to be secondary concerns to creating adequate office accommodation to support the administrative function. The power of the locality was diminished in a way that was echoed physically within the town hall, which became less of a public civic space as a result. Access was also manipulated in the construction of town halls to indicate power.

In the earlier buildings examined, it was clearly segregated to indicate and support functional and class divide. In twentieth century buildings, the preference was to disguise this expression of the existing power structure through the illusion of parity of

access. In reality, a spatially-defined tiered power structure remained as prevalent as it had been in the Victorian era, but was no longer socially palatable. Changing attitudes necessitated an alteration in the appearance of access so as to indicate greater public equality with those making decisions, although in essence the interaction between local authority and urban citizen, as negotiated through the town hall, remained the same.

While the main manifestations of power of the town hall are its size and massing, its location and by the demolition necessitated by its construction, the drive to express the strength of local government lies behind all the other themes discussed. The complex negotiations on what elements, if any, of a local area's history were worthy of inclusion within the revised narrative were taken as an opportunity to lionise certain cultural events, to the exclusion of others deemed harmful to the message of the new local authority. In cases where such references were entirely deleted, the local Council were creating a strong message of a new power base, outside of the existing traditions.

Ritual expression was carefully designed to exhibit the power of the local authority and others of status within the town, through the placing of key personages in the most important positions within the ceremonies; their prominence indicating how powerful they were within the town. Power was also assigned to buildings other than the town hall as part of dynamic events such as kirking and foundation stone and opening ceremonies, as well as more static events involving the town square or civic concourse. In these rituals, buildings became the focal point for public celebration, as part of the town council's attempt to bed in the new building in the ongoing narrative of power as defined by urban structures. Rituals surrounding the town hall thus provided the means of redefining or reconfirming local power holders quite apart from itself, in either human or built form.

The expression of power of local authority through the town hall was thus much broader than simply the physical manifestation of the building as an icon within the urban streetscape. Its usage and its operation as a spatial type, also helped to form the impression of power on an unconscious level. The change in the clarity of that expression is a function of the changing attitudes towards governmental power of the twentieth century. The struggle for power between the architect and the local authority as client, and the impact this had on the final reception of the building, suggests that for town halls, the more power the client was willing to yield, the better the outcome for the citizens. Architects, in pursuing their own design agenda, were unlikely to resolve the needs of the town in a satisfactory built form.

In tandem with the downgrading or phasing out of banqueting halls in the design of town halls was the creation of more elaborate green areas within the curtilage of the building.

These operated as spaces for civic interaction, but without the immediate access to the political space provided by the banqueting halls. Instead of claiming the town hall as their own space through occupation and celebratory events, the public was now relegated to the exterior of the building for major civic functions.

From following the extent of public interaction across the four themed areas explored in the Chapters, we can extrapolate the citizen's ability to be involved with the town council has reduced markedly from the initial freedom of interaction they enjoyed at, for example, the eighteenth century Dundee Town House, as discussed in Chapter 5. Their ability to contribute meaningfully to the political debate was curtailed by successive town hall developments, where their role was marginalised and controlled incrementally by the architecture and landscaping of the town hall.

Although not discussed explicitly, the style of a town hall underpins all of the themes researched. The style of a town hall associated closely with the aspirations of the town council in conveying their central messages. In Chapter 2, we noted how style was subservient to the function of the building, being manipulated to suit the needs of the client, rather than dictating the function of the building. Style was therefore not a driver for the design of town halls, but was employed as appropriate by the town council to convey whatever message or function they considered most important. In Chapter 3, the power of a town hall is conveyed through height. This function is provided by, amongst others, bell towers- key features of the Scots Baronial style – and by tower blocks, beloved of the modernist movement. In Chapter 4, the council's need to access the past for legitimacy or its preference for looking to the future to appear forward-thinking was described by their choice of style. In providing the setting for ritual as described in Chapter 5, the style of the building helped to indicate the relative formality of the space, and the consistent use of highly decorated internal spaces across stylistic boundaries made such schemes a defining factor in the building type.

This research has aimed to find and substantiate those themes that are universal to town halls. It shows that the information they hold and the impact they have is far greater and more complex than has been considered by previous research. It suggests that those outside the field of architectural history, such as urban historians and sociologists, could benefit from considering the town hall as a text for unlocking the history of towns and their relationship to the centre. There may be further avenues of research for those examining other civic buildings to use the same methodology to understand the functioning of urban societies, or the role of similarly iconic structures within the town.

Although only dealt with in depth as part of Chapter 5, there is a very considerable corpus of secondary source material on nineteenth century foundation stone laying and opening ceremony speeches. These were commonly reported in full in local if not national newspapers, and provide detailed information on urban attitudes to matters of local and national concern, as well as the functioning of ritual and class in Victorian Scotland. They are equally well-reported in England and Wales, providing scope for detailed further study by a social or urban historian.

In Chapters 2 and 5, I have used the location of town halls to discuss how external spaces were used in support of ritual functions and a secondary and primary civic space. The examination of town squares – the politics surrounding their creation, their treatment as part of the urban grid, and their assumed functionality – could provide a fruitful avenue for further research in understanding urban planning and design.

Finally, the nineteenth century foundation stone laying ceremony, described here in relation to Renfrew Town Hall, is of great anthropological interest. As a ritual, it is rich with layered meanings and was of huge significance in the Victorian calendar; now completely lost. Again, such processions are comprehensively described by contemporary print media and provide a unique insight into an era that is generally held to be the zenith of public ritual. A more comprehensive study of the routes taken, the ordering of participants, the displays within the procession and the ordering of the final ceremony would bear considerable fruit for our understanding of the Victorian era.

This research has proven how the narratives surrounding the construction of town halls mirror those of contemporary society. The alteration expressed by their building can be read as a microcosm of the town; and from the town, the country: the majority of concerns and triumphs expressed at local level echoed those being voiced nationally, echoing change in the narrative of social and political history.

¹Swati Chattopadhyay and Jeremy Whites (eds.), *City Halls and Civic Materialism*, (Routledge, 2014).

Appendix: Scottish Town Halls, 1833-1973

Site Name	Address	Region at Time of Construction	Current Local Authority Region	Latitude	Longitude	Listing Status	Building Type	Construction date	Main Material of Construction	Designer or Architect	Architectural Style
Kirriemuir Town House	31 High Street, Kirriemuir, Angus DD8 4EQ	Kirriemuir	Angus	56.6729	-3.0041	B	Town Hall and Offices	1862	rubble		classical
Musselburgh Town House	High Street, Musselburgh, East Lothian EH21 7DA	Musselburgh	East Lothian	55.9432	-3.0488	A	Town Hall and Offices	1870-1879	ashlar		classical
Portsoy Town Hall	Portsoy Town Hall, Seafield Street Portsoy AB45 2QL	Portsoy	Aberdeenshire	57.6834	-2.6917	C(S)	Town Hall and Offices	1875			
Arbroath Town House	88 High Street, DD11 1NP	Arbroath	Angus	56.5587	-2.5819	B	Town Hall and Offices	1844	rusticated ashlar	David Logan	classical
Kelso Town Hall	The Square, TD5 7EW	Kelso	Scottish Borders	55.5986	-2.4335	B	Town Hall and Offices	1904	blonde sandstone ashlar	J D Swanston and Syme (edwardian remodelling)	classical with Edwardian Baroque
Melrose Town House	Abbey Street, TD6 9PD	Melrose	Scottish Borders	55.5978	-2.7191	C(S)	Town Hall and Offices	1896	ashlar	J&T Smith of Darnick	classical
Rothsay Town Hall	31 High Street, PA20 9AS	Rothsay	Argyll and Bute	55.8369	-5.0541	B	Courthouse and Town Hall	1880	yellow sandstone; grey sandstone dressings and	James Dempster	Neo-Tudor
Prestwick Burgh Chambers (old); known as Town Hall or Freeman's Hall	Kirk Street, Prestwick	Prestwick	South Ayrshire			B	Burgh Chambers	1837	blonde ashlar		gothic
Kinross Town Hall, library and post office	108-114 High Street, Kinross KY13 8YS	Kinross	Perth and Kinross	56.2030	-3.4213	B	Town Hall and Library	1841	stugged grey ashlar with ashlar dressings	Andrew Cumming	Classical detailing
Burntisland Town Hall	High Street, Burntisland, Fife KY3 0BA	Burntisland	Fife	56.0590	-3.2340	B	Town Hall and Retail	1842	blonde sandstone	John Henderson	Gothic
Montrose Parish Council Chambers	51 John Street, Montrose, Angus DD10 8LY	Montrose	Angus	56.7132	-2.4656	C(S)	Burgh Chambers	1843	Sandstone ashlar to front, squared and snecked to sides and rear	David Wishart Galloway	Renaissance (very John Soane)
Crieff Town Hall	High Street, Crieff, Perth and Kinross PH7 3HA	Crieff	Perth and Kinross	56.3727	-3.8397	B	Police station Burgh hall and offices	1850	Squared and snecked red sandstone rock-faced rubble with sandstone ashlar		Classical detailing
Milnathort Town Hall	Milnathort, Perth and Kinross KY13 9UT	Orwell	Perth and Kinross	56.2270	-3.4199	B	Police station Burgh hall and offices	1853	Squared and snecked rubble	Watt of Kinross	gothic revival
Dalry Town House	14-16 The Cross	Dalry	North Ayrshire	55.7085	-4.7195	B	Town Offices	1853	polished ashlar		classical
St.Andrews Town Hall	St Andrews Town Hall , Queens Gardens,St Andrews,KY16 9TA	St.Andrews	Fife	56.3390	-2.7954	B	Town Hall and Chambers	1858	rubble with ashlar quoins	J. Anderson Hamilton	Baronial

Dunning Town Hall	Auchterarder Road Dunning, PH2 0RJ	Dunning	Perth and Kinross	56.3122	-3.5896	C(S)	Village Hall and Offices	1858	squared and sncked rubble, then ashlar for 1909 addition		gothic detailing, then modern movement for 1909 addition
Irvine Townhouse	66 High Street, Irvine KA12 0AZ	Irvine	North Ayrshire	55.6146	-4.6654	B	County Offices including Council Chambers	1859	sandstone ashlar	J Ingram	Italianate
Innerleithen Municipal Buildings and Hall	Leithen Road, EH44 6HW	Innerleithen	Scottish Borders	55.6209	-3.0619	C(S)	Burgh Hall and Offices	1859	smooth painted render	Todd and Miller	classical
Blairgowrie and Rattray Town Hall	Blairgowrie, Perthshire, PH10 6HA	Blairgowrie	Perth and Kinross	56.7293	-3.4406	C(S)	Police station Burgh hall and offices	1860	sneaked rubble and harl	John Carver, then W J Brewster Grant and Henderson	Classical
Perth Municipal Offices, former Tayside Regional Offices, former Sharp's Institution	6-8 South Methven Street, PH1 5PQ	Perth	Perth and Kinross	56.3970	-3.4335	B	municipal offices	1860	Rubble built with raised quoin	David Smart	Italianate
Inverurie Town Hall	Inverurie, Aberdeenshire AB51 3XT	Inverurie	Aberdeenshire	57.2797	-2.3722	B	Town Hall and Offices	1862	granite ashlar	J. Russell Mackenzie	Baroque of the Vanbrugh- Hawksmoor style
Castle Douglas Town Hall	5-9 St. Andrews Street, Castle Douglas, Dumfries and Galloway DG7 1DG	Castle Douglas	Dumfries and Galloway	54.9396	-3.9326	B	Town Hall and Customs House	1862	red sanstone ashlar	James Barbour	Italianate
Coldstream Town Hall	73 High Street, Coldstream Postcode TD12 4AE	Coldstream	Scottish Borders	55.6520	-2.2511	B	Town Hall and Offices	1862	blonde sandstone ashlar	James Cunningham	Classical
Former Govan Town Hall, then Govan Police and Fire Station, now Orkney Street	18-20 Orkney Street G51 2BZ	Govan	Glasgow	55.8610	-4.3087	B	Burgh Hall and Offices	1867	painted channelled ashlar	John Burnet	Renaissance
Galashiels Burgh Chambers	Albert Place, Galashiels, The Scottish Borders TD1 3JY	Galashiels	Scottish Borders	55.6143	-2.8063	B	Burgh Chambers	1867	coursed ashlar	Robert Hall and Co	Scottish Renaissance
Leith Town Hall	Queen Charlotte Street, Edinburgh, City of Edinburgh EH6 6AY	Leith	Edinburgh	55.9736	-3.1669	A	Town Hall and Offices	1868	blonde sandstone	James Simpson	classical
Selkirk Sheriff Court House and County Buildings	Ettrick Terrace Selkirk TD7 4LE	Selkirk	Scottish Borders	55.5484	-2.8429	B	Sheriff Court House	1868	sandstone with droved ashlar dressings	David Rhind	Scots Baronial
Thurso Town Hall	High Street, KW14 8AJ	Thurso	Highland	58.5957	-3.5180	B	Town Hall and Offices	1870	blonde ashlar	J Russell Mackenzie	Gothic

Invergordon Town Hall, then Playhouse Cinema, now Invergordon Arts Centre	High Street, IV15 9RY	Invergordon	Highland	57.6887	-4.1699	B	Town Hall and Offices	1871	blonde sandstone ashlar	W.C. Joass and Alexander Ross & Son	Italianate
Dundee Municipal Offices	89-95 Commercial Street	Dundee	City of Dundee	56.4611	-2.9696	A	Municipal buildings	1871	sandstone ashlar	William Mackison	Renaissance
Leslie Town Hall	21 High Street, Leslie, KY6 3DA	Leslie	Fife	56.2040	-3.2045	C(S)	Town Hall and Offices	1872	whinstone with sandstone dressings		gothic
Partick Burgh Halls	5-9 Burgh Hall Street, Glasgow, Lanarkshire, G11 5LN	Partick	Glasgow	55.8713	-4.3081	B	Burgh Hall and Offices	1872	polished ashlar	William Leiper	Francois Premier style
Banchory Ternan Town Hall	High Street Banchory, Kincardineshire, AB31 5RP	Banchory Ternan	Aberdeenshire	57.0520	-2.5075	n/a	Town Hall and Offices	1872	rendered with red sandstone ashlar dressings	James Thomson	Queen Anne
Dunoon Burgh Hall	195 Argyll Street Dunoon, PA23 7DE	Dunoon	Argyll and Bute	55.9505	-4.9281	B	Burgh Hall and Offices	1873		Robert A Bryden	Scots Baronial
Alloa Burgh Chambers	14 Bank Street, Alloa, Clackmannanshire	Alloa	Clackmannan	56.1141	-3.7938	C(S)	Burgh Chambers	1874	blonde sandstone ashlar	Adam Frame	Victorian Renaissance
Annan Town Hall	Annan, Dumfries and Galloway DG12 6AG	Annan	Dumfries and Galloway	54.9873	-3.2645	B	Town Hall and Offices	1875	red ashlar	R Smith	Scots baronial
New Galloway Town Hall	High Street, New Galloway, Dumfries and Galloway DG7 3RJ	New Galloway	Dumfries and Galloway	55.0732	-4.1408	B	Town Hall and Offices	1875	smooth rendered		Classical-romanesque
Markinch Town Hall	Markinch Town Hall, Betson Street, Markinch, KY7 6AH	Markinch	Fife	56.2022	-3.1346	C(S)	Town Hall and Offices	1876	squared and snecked rubble, ashlar quoins and	Gillespie and Scott	Baronial
Dunfermline Municipal Buildings, aka Town Hall	8 Kirkgate, Dunfermline, Fife KY12 8AQ	Dunfermline	Fife	56.0708	-3.4641	A	town hall	1876	Lightly stugged sandstone ashlar with polished ashlar dressings	J C Walker	French baronial
Oldmeldrum Town Hall	Oldmeldrum, Aberdeenshire	Oldmeldrum	Aberdeenshire	57.3350	-2.3200	B	Town Hall and Offices	1877	rough granite ashlar	William Smith	Classical
Blyth Memorial Hall and Municipal Buildings	Blyth Hall , 3 Scott Street, Newport On Tay, DD6 8DD	Newport	Fife	56.4395	-2.9406	C(S)	hall and municipal buildings	1877	Squared and snecked sandstone rubble, rock-faced to sides, with ashlar dressings	Alexander Johnston	Scots Baronial
Portobello Municipal Buildings	118 Portobello High Street, EH15 643	Portobello	City of Edinburgh	55.9539	-3.1153	B	Town Council office	1877	Bull-faced squared and snecked sandstone	Robert Paterson	Franco Baronial
Maryhill Burgh Halls	Avenue, Glasgow, G20 8YE	Maryhill	Glasgow	55.8908	-4.2909	B	Burgh hall and offices	1878	blonde sandstone	Duncan McNaughton	Dutch renaissance
Kirkcudbright Town Hall	Kirkcudbright, Dumfries and	Kirkcudbright	Dumfries and Galloway	54.8360	-4.0499	B	Town Hall Library and Museum	1878	red sandstone	Kinnear and Peddie	Renaissance

Helensburgh Municipal Buildings	East Princes Street, G84 8TF	Helensburgh	Argyll and Bute	56.0041	-4.7330	B	Town Offices	1878	Stugged and coursed cream sandstone; ashlar dressings	John Honeyman	Scots Baronial
Stonehaven Town Hall	Allardice Street, AB39 2EQ	Stonehaven	Aberdeenshire	56.9640	-2.2079	B	Town Hall and Offices	1879	red sandstone	Matthews and Lawrie	Renaissance
Falkirk Town Hall	Upper Newmarket Street	Falkirk	Falkirk	56.0004	-3.7848	n/a	Town Hall and Offices	1879	blond ashlar	William Black	Renaissance
Falkirk Burgh Buildings	The Old Burgh Buildings, 12/14 Newmarket Street, Falkirk, FK1 1JE	Falkirk	Falkirk	56.0008	-3.786198	C(S)	Burgh Hall and Offices	1879	blond ashlar	William Black	Scots Baronial
Eyemouth Burgh Chambers	2 Renton Terrace, Eyemouth, The Scottish Borders	Eyemouth	Scottish Borders	55.8718	-2.0897	B	Burgh Chambers	1880		David Rhind att.	Baronial
Greenock Municipal Buildings	Municipal Buildings Clyde Square Greenock PA15 1LX	Greenock	Inverclyde	55.9480	-4.7562	A	Town Hall and Offices	1881	granite	H. & D. Barclay	renaissance
Lockerbie Town Hall	Bridge Street, Lockerbie, Dumfries and Galloway DG11 2JJ	Lockerbie	Dumfries and Galloway	55.1217	-3.3548	A	Town Hall and Library	1882	red sandstone	David Bryce	Scots Baronial
Dalkieth Municipal Buildings	2-8 Buccleuch Street, Midlothian EH22 1HH	Dalkeith	Midlothian	55.8929	-3.0719	B	Burgh Chambers	1882	stugged cream and snecked rubble; ashlar dressings	James Alison	Scots Baroinal
Grangemouth Town Hall	Bo'ness Road, Grangemouth FK3 8AN	Grangemouth	Falkirk	56.0198	-3.7214	not listed	Town Hall	1884	Grey ashlar	William Black	Neo-classical
MacDuff Town Hall	19 Shore Street, MacDuff, AB44 1UB	MacDuff	Aberdeenshire	57.6696	-2.4984	B	Town Hall and Offices	1884	dark whinstone	Pirie and Clyne	Scots Baronial
Kirkwall Town Hall	Broad Street, Kirkwall, Orkney Islands KW15 1AQ	Krikwall	Orkney Islands	58.9818	-2.9613	B	Town Hall and Library	1884	blonde sandstone ashlar	T S Peace	Baronial
Whithorn Town Hall	53 St John Street, Whithorn, Dumfries and Galloway DG8 8PF	Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway	54.7349	-4.4150	C(S)	Village Hall and Offices	1885	whinstone rubble with ashlar dressings	David Henry	Tudor
Alyth Town Hall	Albert Street, Alyth, Perthshire PH11 8AX	Alyth	Perth and Kinross	56.6209	-3.2346	not listed	Town Hall and Offices	1887	red sandstone with blond sandstone dressings	Andrew Heiton	Scotch baronial
Maybole Town Hall	High Street Maybole, KA19 7BZ	Maybole	South Ayrshire	55.3533	-4.6829	B	Town Hall and Offices	1887	rubble masonry with ashlar dressings	W&RS Ingram	Scots Baronial
Johnstone Burgh Chambers	Johnstone, Renfrewshire PA5	Johnstone	Renfrewshire	55.8373	-4.5131	B	Town Hall and Chambers	1887	stugged cream sandstone rubble	Charles Davidson	Baronial
Alloa Town Hall	6 Marshall Alloa, FK10 1AB	Alloa	Clackmannan	56.1165	-3.7955	C(S)	Town Hall and Offices	1888	blonde sandstone ashlar	Paul Waterhouse	Early Renaissance
New Cumnock Town Hall and Police Station	The Castle New Cumnock KA18 4AN	New Cumnock	East Ayrshire	55.3962	-4.1846	C(S)	Police station Burgh hall and offices	1888	red sandstone	Allan Stevenson	Scots Renaissance/Queen Anne

Oban Sheriff Court (former County Buildings)	Albany Street Oban PA34 4AL	Oban	Argyll and Bute	56.4114	-5.4735	B	Sheriff Court House	1889	sandstone ashlar	David MacKintosh	Italianate
Pollokshields Burgh Hall	2025 Pollokshaws Road, G41 4LL	Pollokshields	Glasgow	55.8387	-4.2874	A	Burgh Hall and Offices	1890	Red sandstone	Henry Edward Clifford	Scots Renaissance
Paisley Procurator Fiscal's Office, former County Buildings	18 St James Street, Renfrew PA3 2HU	Paisley	Renfrewshire	55.8486	-4.4268	B	Courthouse and Town Hall	1890	ashlar	George Bell of Clarke and Bell	classical
Cove Burgh Hall and Reading Room	Shore Road, G84 0LY	Cove and Kilgreggan	Argyll and Bute	55.9880	-4.8480	B	Burgh Hall and Offices	1893	Rubble with harl pointing, red sandstone dressings	James Chalmers	Scots Renaissance
Coatbridge Municipal Buildings	Kildonan Street Coatbridge ML5 3BT	Coatbridge	North Lanarkshire	55.8638	-4.0218	B	Burgh Chambers	1894	Red sandstone ashlar	A McGregor Mitchell	Renaissance
Whiteinch Burgh Hall, Police Station and Fire Station	35, Inchlee Street, Glasgow, G14 9QG	Whiteinch	Glasgow	55.8746	-4.3343	B	Burgh Hall and Offices	1894	Squared and snecked, bull-faced red sandstone		Scots Renaissance
Brechin Municipal Buildings	13 Bank Street DD9 6AU	Brechin	Angus	56.7326	-2.6567	n/a	municipal buildings	1894	sandstone ashlar	D & J R McMillan	Scots Renaissance
Carnoustie Council Chambers	High Street, DD7 6AP	Carnoustie	Angus	56.5016	-2.7087	n/a	Burgh Chambers	1894			Renaissance
Prestonpans Town Hall	Prestonpans, East Lothian EH32 9BA	Prestonpans	East Lothian	55.9589	-2.9855	C(S)	Burgh Hall and Offices	1897	red sandstone	Peter Whitecross	Renaissance
Parish Council Chambers, now Registrar's Office	32 Panmure Street, DD9 6AE	Brechin	Angus	56.7332	-2.6571	C(S)	Burgh Chambers	1897	stugged ashlar with broached dressings	D Wishart Galloway	Free Neo-Jacobean
Oban Municipal Buildings	Albany Street. Oban PA34 4AW	Oban	Argyll and Bute	56.4116	-5.4738	B	Town Offices	1897			Classical
Roths Town Hall		Roths	Moray					1898			
Pitlochry Town Hall	West Moulin Road Pitlochry, PH16 5DR	Pitlochry	Perth and Kinross	56.7048	-3.7336	B	Town Hall and Offices	1899	Squared rubble with sandstone ashlar dressings	Alexander Ness	Scottish Renaissance
Dumbarton Municipal Buildings	Dumbarton, West Dunbartonshire G82 1NH	Dumbarton	West Dunbartonshire	55.9460	-4.5673	B	Burgh Chambers	1900	red sandstone ashlar	James Thomson	Scottish Jacobean
Clydebank Municipal Buildings	Clydebank, Dunbartonshire G811UE	Clydebank	West Dunbartonshire	55.9008	-4.4080	B	Burgh Chambers	1902		James Miller	Renaissance
Barrhead Burgh Chambers	124 Main Street, G78 1SE	Barrhead	East Renfrewshire	55.8000	-4.3909	C(S)	Burgh Hall and Offices	1902	Coursed, bull-faced red sandstone with polished ashlar dressings	McWhannell and Rogerson	Free Scots Renaissance
Aberfeldy Municipal Buildings	Bank Street, PH15 2ES	Aberfeldy	Perth and Kinross	56.6189	-3.8681	B	Burgh Chambers	1903	Chlorite-slate rubble with polished and stugged ashlar dressings	Bell & Cameron	baronial

Barrhead Burgh Court Hall	128 Main Street, G78 1SE	Barrhead	East Renfrewshire	55.8000	-4.3903	C(S)	Burgh Hall and Offices	1904	Coursed, bull-faced red sandstone with polished ashlar dressings	McWhannell and Rogerson	Free Scots Renaissance
Stornoway Town Hall	Stornoway, HS1 2BE	Stornoway	Western Isles	58.2081	-6.3875	B	Town Hall and Offices	1905	rock-faced brown ashlar (imported)	John Robertson	Free gothic/transitional
Darvel Town Hall and Library	10 12 West Main Street, Darvel, KA17 0AQ	Darvel	East Ayrshire	55.6100	-4.2823	B	Town Hall and Library	1905	red sandstone	Thomas Henry Smith	
Kirkintilloch Town Hall	York Place, Kirkintilloch, East Dunbartonshire G66 1HN	Kirkintilloch	East Dunbartonshire	55.9401	-4.1584	B	Town Hall and Offices	1905	blonde sandstone	Walker & Ramsay	Classical with Baroque references
Cowdenbeath Town House	High Street, Cowdenbeath, KY4 9QB	Cowdenbeath	Fife	56.1132	-3.3443	C(S)	Town Hall and Offices	1905	red sandstone ashlar	Thomas Hyslop Ure	Edwardian Renaissance
Bearsden (New Kilpatrick) Council Chambers	36-38 Roman Road, G61 2SJ	Bearsden	East Dunbartonshire	55.9186	-4.3229	C(S)	Burgh Chambers	1907	Stugged ashlar blocks of varying size, harl with timber lattice, and ashlar dressings	Alan George McNaughton	neo-Tudor
Turriff Municipal Buildings	2 High Street, Turriff, AB53 4EL	Turriff	Aberdeenshire	57.5373	-2.4623	C(S)	Burgh Chambers	1908	red ashlar	W.L. Duncan	Edwardian Renaissance
Stirling Municipal Buildings	8-10 Corn Exchange Rd, Stirling FK8 2HU	Stirling	Stirling	56.1182	-3.9395	B	Town Offices	1908	Sandstone ashlar	J Gaff Gillespie of Salmon, Son & Gillespie	Scots Baronial with tower and Tudor Collegiate blocks
Lochgelly Town House	Hall Street, Lochgelly, Fife KY5 9NG	Lochgelly	Fife	56.1273	-3.3079	B	Burgh Chambers	1909	blonde sandstone	T Hislop Ure	renaissance
Sir John Wilson Town Hall, Airdrie	Stirling Street, Airdrie, ML6 0ES	Lanarkshire	North Lanarkshire	55.8655	-3.9836	B	Town Hall and Offices	1912	Cream sandstone ashlar	John Thomson	Classical with baroque details
East Kilbride Council Chambers	96-98 Mains Street, East Kilbride	East Kilbride	South Lanarkshire	55.7681	-4.1760	C(S)	Burgh Chambers	1913	blonde ashlar		Queen Anne (SOC)
Renfrew Council Chambers	Renfield Street, Renfrew PA4 8NR	Renfrew	Renfrewshire	55.8802	-4.3863	B	Burgh Chambers	1914	nosed coursed rubble with polished ashlar		Baronial
Penicuik Council Chambers	2-6 West Street, Penicuik, Midlothian EH26 9BX	Penicuik	Midlothian	55.8258	-3.2225	C(S)	Burgh Chambers	1916	Squared and snecked sandstone with polished dressings		Baronial
Gourock Municipal Buildings and Police Station	Shore Street Gourock PA19 1QY	Gourock	Inverclyde	55.9610	-4.8172	C(S)	Police station Burgh hall and offices	1923	Red sandstone, squared and snecked bull-faced rubble with	Stewart Tough & Alexander	Scottish 17th century style
Dundee City Chambers	21 City Square, Dundee, DD1 3BY56	Dundee	City of Dundee	56.4603	-2.9682	B	City Offices and Hall	1924	Polished Leoch ashlar with Creetown granite detail at lower	Sir John James Burnet, built by J McLellan Brown	Inter-war classic
Galston Municipal Offices and Council Chambers, a.k.a. Galston Townhouse	11 Cross Street, Galston, Ayrshire, KA4 8AA	Galston	South Ayrshire	55.6007	-4.3811	not listed		1925	sandstone ashlar	Gabriel Steel	Scots baronial

Ayr County Buildings	County Buildings, Wellington Square, KA7 1DP	Ayr	South Ayrshire	55.4613	-4.6387	B	County Offices including Council Chambers	1931	ashlar	Alexander Mair	Inter-war classical
Troon Town Hall	South Beach Ayr Street Troon Troon, KA10 6EF	Troon	South Ayrshire	55.5412	-4.6595	B	Town Hall and Offices	1932	Red brick; Blaxter sandstone ashlar dressings	James Miller	neo-Georgian
Kirkcaldy Town House	Whytescausway, Kirkcaldy, Fife KY1	Kirkcaldy	Fife	56.1098	-3.1624	B	Town Hall and Offices	1937	cement rendering as ashlar	Carr and Howard	classical
Falkirk Municipal Buildings	West Bridge St, Falkirk FK1 5RS	Falkirk	Falkirk	56.0018	-3.7923	not listed	municipal building, including town hall	1961		Baron Bercott	Modernist
Loanhead Municipal Offices	2 Clerk Street, EH2 9DR	Loanhead	Edinburgh	55.8796	-3.1501	not listed		1962		William Ritchie Wellwood	modern
Dingwall Town Hall	High Street, Dingwall, Ross & Cromarty, IV15 9RY	Dingwall	Highland	57.5956	-4.4284	B	Town Hall and Offices	1905	rubble tower with blond ashlar wings and entrance	John Boag and WC Joas	Baronial
Saltcoats Town Hall	Countess Street, KA21 5HP	Saltcoats	North Ayrshire	55.6574	-4.7701	B	Burgh hall and offices	1892	blonde sandstone ashlar	Peter King, then Howie and Walton	classical
Court and County Buildings	Court Street Haddington	Haddington	East Lothian	55.9551	-2.7809	B	Court House and County Buildings	1833	smooth ashlar from Fife quarry	William Burn	Perpendicular Gothic
Lanark Council Chambers	Sheriff Clerk's Office Sheriff Court House 24 Hope Street Lanark	Lanark	South Lanarkshire	55.6750	-3.7811	B	County Offices including Council Chambers	1834	ashlar	Hugh Marr, Sheriff Court by John Johnstone	classical
Peebles Sheriff Court, former County Hall	High Street, EH45 8AW	Peebles	Scottish Borders	55.6514	-3.1926	B	Courthouse and Town Hall	1843		Thomas Brown	Jacobean
Dornoch County Buildings and Courthouse	Sheriff Court House Castle Street Dornoch IV25 3FD	Dornoch	Highland	57.8796	-4.0294	B	Courthouse and Town Hall	1849		Thomas Brown	Scottish Renaissance
Banff Town Hall	Street and 2 Seafield Street ,AB45 1DS	Banff	Aberdeenshire	57.6666	-2.5240	A	Town Hall and Offices	1851	dark whinstone with contrasting polished sandstone	Andrew Mckenzie	Italianate
Fraserburgh Town Hall	3 Saltoun Square and 1-5 Kirk Brae, AB43 9AP	Fraserburgh	Aberdeenshire	57.6938	-2.0044	B	Town Hall and Offices	1853	freestone	Thomas Mackenzie	Renaissance
Townfoot Town Hall	Stow Galashiels Selkirkshire	Stow	Scottish Borders	55.6920	-2.8605	B	Town Hall Library and Museum	1854			Scottish Baronial
Campbeltown Municipal Offices	Dell Road, Campbeltown, Argyll and Bute PA28 6JH	Campbeltown	Argyll and Bute	55.4239	-5.6099	C(S)	Town Offices	1860	Stugged ashlar principal elevation with random rubble sides and rear, polished ashlar dressings and detail		simple classical
Rutherglen Town Hall	139 Main Street Rutherglen, Glasgow, G73 2JJ	Rutherglen	South Lanarkshire	55.8286	-4.2146	A	Town Hall and Offices	1861	blonde ashlar	Charles Wilson	Scots baronial and Jacobean
Dalbeattie Town Hall	Dalbeattie, Dumfries and Galloway DG5	Dalbeattie	Dumfries and Galloway	54.9334	-3.8223	B	Town Hall and Retail	1861	granite		

Whigtown Town Hall	The Square, Wigtown, Newton Stewart, Dumfries and Galloway DG8	Wigtown	Dumfries and Galloway	54.8686	-4.4414	B	County Offices including Council Chambers	1862	red sandstone with cream sandstone dressing	Thomas Brown	French gothic
Elie and Earlsferry Town Hall	19-21 High Street, KY9 1AG	Elie and Earlsferry	Fife	56.1890	-2.8339	B	Town Hall and Offices	1864	snecked rubble and slate	John Currie	Victorian Baronial
Aberdeen Sheriff Court and Town House	Broad Street Aberdeen AB10 1FY	Aberdeen	Aberdeenshire	57.1482	-2.0966	A	City Offices and Hall	1868	grey granite ashlar	Peddie and Kinnear	Flemish-medieval
and County Buildings	Forfar, Angus DD8 3LA	Forfar	Angus	56.6500	-2.886558	B	Courthouse and Town Hall	1869	snecked rubble	Brown and Wardrop	Franco-Scottish
Anstruther Town Hall (easter)	4 Kirk Wynd, Anstruther, Fife KY10 3DH	Kilrenny	Fife	56.2235	-2.7007	B	Town Hall and Library	1870	snecked rubble with ashlar dressings	John Harris	Baronial
Banff Courthouse and Town Hall	1 Low Street Banff AB45 1AU	Banff	Aberdeenshire	57.6639	-2.521864	B	Courthouse and Town Hall	1870	polished blonde ashlar	James Matthews	Renaissance palazzo
Renfrew Town Hall and Museum	Renfrew Cross Renfrew PA4 8PF	Renfrew	Renfrewshire	55.8790	-4.3873	A	Town Hall and Offices	1871	Snecked cream sandstone rubble with ashlar	James Jamieson Lamb and Baillie James Barr Lamb	French Gothic
Lerwick County Buildings	Sheriff Court House King Erik Street Lerwick ZE1 0HD	Lerwick	Shetland Islands	60.1549	-1.1471	B	County Offices including Council Chambers	1874	Stugged squared and snecked sandstone ashlar walls with droved ashlar dressings and details	David Rhind	Scots Baronial
Tain Town Hall, former Picture House, now Royal Hotel Tain	Tower Street, Tain, Highland IV19 1AN	Tain	Highland	57.8121	-4.0557	B	Town Hall and Offices	1874	blonde ashlar	Andrew Maitland and Sons	Renaissance
Perth Municipal Buildings	High Street, Perth and Kinross PH1 5JR	Perth	Perth and kinross	56.3972	-3.4263	B	Town Hall and Offices	1877	stugged coursers	Andrew Heiton	Victorian Gothic
Inverness Town House	Castle Wynd, Inverness, Highland IV1 1HG	Inverness and Bona	Highland	57.4773	-4.2250	A	Town Hall and Offices	1878	Overwood sandstone ashlar	Matthew and Laurie	Flemish Baronial
George A Clark Town Hall	Abbey Close Paisley, PA1 1JF	Paisley	Renfrewshire	55.8451	-4.4219	A	Town Hall and Offices	1879	blonde sandstone ashlar	W H Lynn, James Young	Mixed classical
Lerwick Town Hall	8 Charlotte Street, Lerwick, Shetland Islands ZE1 0EN	Lerwick	Shetland Islands	60.1545	-1.1464	B	Town Hall and Offices	1881	Stugged squared and snecked green Bressay freestone walls with stugged	Alexander Ross, with alterations by John M Aitken	Gothic and Flemish Baronial
Cumnock Town Hall	Hall Terrace, Glaisnock Street, Cumnock, East	Cumnock and Holmhead	East Ayrshire	55.4522	-4.2638	C(S)	Town Hall and Offices	1883	red sandstone	R Ingram	Free Renaissance
Hawick Town Hall	Cross Wynd, Hawick TD9 9EF	Hawick	Scottish Borders	55.4224	-2.7861	A	Town Hall and Offices	1884	yellow sandstone ashlar	James Campbell Walker	Scottish Baronial
Gifford Town Hall	The Square, Gifford, East Lothian EH41 4QZ	Gifford	East Lothian	55.9032	-2.7476	A	Town Hall and Library	1884	red sandstone and render		
Kirriemuir Town Hall	28/30 Reform Street Kirriemuir DD8 4BS	Kirriemuir	Angus	56.6742	-3.0027	C(S)	Town Hall and Library	1885	red sandstone with blonde sandstone dressings	C & L Ower (Townhall - 1885), Leslie Ower and Allen (library- 1913)	Renaissance

Motherwell Town Hall	Motherwell, North Lanarkshire ML1 3DA	Motherwell	North Lanarkshire	55.7898	-3.9945	C(S)	Town Hall and Offices	1886	blonde sandstone ashlar	John Bennie Wilson	Queen Anne detailing
Coupar Angus Town Hall	Union Street Coupar Angus, PH13 9AE	Coupar Angus	Perth and Kinross	56.5392	-3.2741	C(S)	Town Hall and Chambers	1886	Stugged ashlar with rusticated and polished dressings	David Smart	French influence
Aberfeldy Town Hall	Crieff Road Aberfeldy, Perthshire, PH15 2EB	Aberfeldy	Perth and Kinross	56.6184	-3.8674	B	Town Hall and Offices	1889	Harled with rock-faced red sandstone margins and quoins and	James M MacLaren	Free Style
Stromness Town Hall	Victoria Street Stromness, KW16 3BA	Stromness	Orkney Islands	58.9622	-3.2998	C(S)	Town Hall and Offices	1890	blonde sandstone ashlar	William Robertson	gothic
Pollokshaws Burgh Hall	2025 Pollokshaws Road, Glasgow G43 1NE	Pollokshaws	Glasgow	55.8254	-4.2982	A	Burgh Hall and Offices	1890	Snecked bull-faced ashlar, polsihed dressings	Robert Rowand Anderson	Scots Renaissance
Govan Town Hall	401 Govan Road Glasgow G51 2QJ	Govan	Glasgow	55.8566	-4.3000	B	Town Hall and Chambers	1897	red sandstone	Thomson and Sandilands	Beaux-Arts Renaissance
Dunblane Municipal Buildings	The Cross, Dunblane, Stirling FK15 0AQ	Dunblane	Stirling	56.1888	-3.9641	C(S)	Burgh Chambers	1900	rubble with stugged yellow sandstone dressings	R M Christie	Jacobethan
Bo'ness Town Hall	Avenue, Bo'ness, EH51 9NJ	Stirlingshire	Falkirk	56.0158	-3.6080	B	Town Hall and Library	1901	Grey ashlar	George Washington Browne	English Renaissance
Hamilton Municipal Buildings	Cadzow Street, ML3 6HJ	Hamilton	South Lanarkshire	55.7772	-4.0370	B	Town Hall and Library	1906	ashlar	Alexander Cullen	of EA Rickards School
Perth City Hall	EDWARD STREET, ST JOHN'S PLACE	Perth	Perth and Kinross	56.3959	-3.4294	B	City Offices and Hall	1909	blonde sandstone	H E Clifford and Lunan	Renaissance
Portobello Town Hall	Portobello High Street, Edinburgh	Portobello	Edinburgh	55.9524	-3.1137	B	Town Hall and Offices	1912	blonde sandstone	James A Williamson, City Architect	Classical
Glasgow Municipal Buildings, a.k.a. Glasgow Council Chambers (extension)	Cochrane Street G1	Glasgow	City of Glasgow	55.8606	-4.2476	A	extension to existing city chambers	1913	Polished ashlar and polished pink granite	Watson Salmond and Gray	Greek with French Renaissance detailing
Caird Hall, incl. Council Chambers	Dundee, Dundee City DD1 3BZ	Dundee	Dundee	56.4603	-2.9682	A	including Council Chambers	1913	cream sandstone dressings	James Thomson	French gothic
Dumfries Municipal Chambers, now Nithsdale District	Buccleuch St, Dumfries DG12AD	Dumfries	Dumfries and Galloway	55.0702	-3.6143	C	municipal buildings	1931	Red ashlar, channelled at basement;	James Carruthers	Edwardian baroque
Elgin Town Hall	Town Hall House, North St, Elgin, IV30 1UD	Elgin	Moray	57.6506	-3.3160	B	Town Hall and Offices	1957	reinforced concrete frame with precast concrete panels over brick infill	William Kininmonth	Modernist
Brunton Hall and Municipal Offices	Musselburgh, East Lothian EH21 6AF	Musselburgh	East Lothian	55.9439	-3.0571	not listed		1969	concrete	Rowand Anderson Kininmonth & Paul,	International modernism
Tillicoultry library, former Municipal Buildings	99 High Street, Tillicoultry, FK13 6DL	Tillicoultry	Clackmannan	56.1533	-3.7438	C(S)	Town Offices	1833	harled and quoined	James Carrick	Simple classical
Inverbervie Town House	Inverbervie, Aberdeenshire	Inverbervie	Aberdeenshire	56.8449	-2.2806	B	Town Hall and Library	1840	rubble		classical

Broughty Ferry Health Centre, former Municipal Buildings	134 Brook Street, DD5 1ES	Broughty Ferry	Dundee City	56.4674	-2.8774	C(S)	Burgh Chambers	1860	Coursed and snecked rubble, ashlar dressings,		Simple classical
Luss Hall	School Road, Luss, Argyll and Bute G83 8NY	Luss	Argyll and Bute	56.1007	-4.6385	C(S)	Town Hall and Library	1890	Coursed whinstone and sandstone rubble with red sandstone margins and dressings		arts and crafts
Stewarton Burgh Offices	8 Avenue Square, Stewarton, East Ayrshire KA3 5AW	Stewarton	East Ayrshire	55.6813	-4.5145	C(S)	Town Offices	1855	Sandstone ashlar, concrete render to rear and to upper part of extension		classical
Ardrossan Town Hall	150 Glasgow St Ardrossan KA22 8EU	Ardrossan	North Ayrshire	55.6333	-4.7855	B	Town Hall and Offices	1970	stugged pink masonry with white ashlar dressings		Gothic
Kinross Municipal Chambers	Perth and Kinross KY13 8YS	Kinross	Perth and Kinross	56.2060	-3.4222	B	Burgh Chambers	1890			Georgian
Duns Sheriff Court, former county offices	Sheriff Court House 8 Newtown Street Duns TD11 3DU	Duns	Scottish Borders	55.7787	-2.3455	B	County Offices including Council Chambers	1890	Stugged squared and snecked cream sandstone with ashlar dressings.		Tudor
Abernethy Town House	53 Main Street, PH2 9LB	Abernethy	Perth and Kinross	56.3329	-3.3115	C(S)	Burgh Chambers	1860	rubble		classical
Stornoway Town House	16-18 Cromwell Street, HS1 2XG	Stornoway	Western Isles	58.2088	-6.3884	B	Town Hall and Offices	1920	rendered		classical
Invergordon Burgh Chambers	56 High Street, Invergordon, Highland IV18 0EU	Invergordon	Highland	57.6882	-4.1706	C(S)	Town Offices	1860	Coursed tooled rubble, tooled ashlar dressings; rubble flanks		
Bellshill Municipal Buildings, former Bothwell Parish Council Chambers	20-22 Motherwell Road, ML4 1RB	Bothwell	Lanarkshire	55.8180	-4.0241	not listed	council chambers	1900	red sandstone	G N Beattie & Morton	Arts and Crafts
Paisley Civic Centre	Cotton Street, Paisley, PA1 1AR	Paisley	Renfrewshire	55.844199	-4.418193	B listed	council offices	1964	concrete	Hutchison, Locke & Monk	Late Modern/early Brutal
Motherwell Civic Centre	Civic Centre, Windmillhill Street, Motherwell, North Lanarkshire, ML1 1AB	Motherwell	Lanarkshire	55.783843	-3.982603		council chamber and offices	1962	concrete	Wylie Shanks	Late Modern/early Brutal
Haddington County Buildings	Court Street, Haddington	Haddington	East Lothian County Council	55.9551	-2.7809	B listed	council chamber and offices	1932		Dick Peddie and McKay	Tudor revival
Linlithgow County Buildings	High Street, Linlithgow, West Lothian, EH49 7EZ	Linlithgow	West Lothian	55.976438	-3.600756	B listed	council chamber, court and offices	1935	stone	Walter Todd of Dick Peddie and Walter Todd	Neo-Georgian
Cupar County Buildings	St Catherine Street, Cupar, KY15 4TA	Fife	Fife	56.319327	-3.009772	B listed	council chamber and offices	1924	stone	Thoms & Wilkie	Neo-classical

Dumbarton Sheriff Court and County Buildings	Church Street Dumbarton G82 1QR	Dumbarton	West Dumbartonshire	55.944523	-4.566412	B listed	court, council chamber and offices	1895	ashlar	Duncan McNaughton	classical
Dumfries County Buildings	English Street, Dumfries, DG1 2DD	Dumfries	Dumfries & Galloway	55.069795	-3.606824	B listed	council chamber and offices	1912		Peddie and Forbes Smith	Edwardian Renaissance
Inverness County Buildings	Ardross Street, Inverness, IV3 5NS	Inverness	Highlands and Islands	57.4749	-4.231316	n/a	council chamber and offices	1961	concrete	Joseph Lea Gleave	Modern
Linlithgow Town Hall	Cross House, Linlithgow EH49 7AH	Linlithgow	West Lothian	55.977299	-3.600215	A listed	council chamber and offices	1848	ashlar	Thomas Brown	classical
Tweeddale District Council Offices	Rosetta Road, Peebles, EH45 8HH	Peebles	Scottish Borders	55.657103	-3.198084	B listed	council chamber and offices	1935		Dick Peddie and Walter Todd	neo-Baroque
Roxburgh County Buildings	Newtown St. Boswells Melrose TD6 0SA	Roxburgh	Scottish Borders	55.577572	-2.673876	n/a	council chamber and offices	1961	concrete	Peter Womersley	modern
Lanark County Buildings	Almada St, Hamilton ML3 0AA	Hamilton	South Lanarkshire	55.77921	-4.050251	A listed	council chamber and offices	1959	concrete	David Bannerman	modern

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